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ABSTRACT

This is a final report of a four year research project which examined the factors influencing parental resistance to school desegregation. A total of 2,112 white parents with children attending assigned public schools in 1971-72 but who were enrolled in private school in 1972-73 were interviewed. Two forms of parental resistance to school integration were examined in seven desegregated school districts which reflected Florida's cultural heterogeneity. One form was "rejection", the decision to transfer a child from a public to a private school. A second form was "protest" the decision to actively and overtly oppose desegregation while keeping the child in the public school system. Chi square analysis was used to compare the two groups of parents on various aspects of prejudice and on attitudes towards school integration. The tendency toward "rejection" increased with social status. The threshold point for "rejection" was a 30 percent black population in the school. Protest behavior was an emotional and transient response to school desegregation. Specific experiences with desegregation contributed far less to protest behavior than attitudes concerning race and school integration. The report concluded that stable desegregation can be achieved. Another conclusion of the report was that while some white flight might be inevitable with school desegregation, it need not result in complete resegregation of the schools. Parents' reactions to desegregation were intertwined with their concerns about the quality of education offered in public schools and the ability of the schools to provide a safe and orderly learning environment for their children. Numerous tables, charts, and an appendix are included. They delineate the rejecter-protester comparisons on the basis of income, education, and occupation. (Author/JP)

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DETERMINANTS OF RESEGREGATION:
COMPLIANCE/REJECTION BEHAVIOR AND POLICY ALTERNATIVES

Prepared By

Micheal W. Giles and Douglas S. Gatlin
Florida Atlantic University
Boca Raton, Florida

Everett F. Cataldo
The Cleveland State University
Cleveland, Ohio

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
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With The Assistance Of

Emilie Rappoport, Julie Shih and Deborah Athos

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PREFACE

This is a final report on a four year project to examine the factors influencing parental resistance to school desegregation. The study was conducted from 1972-1976 by Micheal W. Giles, Everett F. Cataldo and Douglas S. Gatlin under a grant from Research Applied to National Needs, Division of Advanced Productivity Research and Technology, National Science Foundation. The project was administered through the Institute of Behavioral Research at Florida Atlantic University, Boca Raton, Florida.

We would like to thank our colleagues at Florida Atlantic University and at other institutions for their many contributions to this study. In particular, we are grateful to Robert Crain, Edgar Epps, Joe Feagin, Carolyn Glieter, Ples Griffin, Mark Lohman, Gary Orfield, Ray Rist, and Meyer Weinberg, who made many helpful suggestions during the development of the project or in the preparation of this report. We wish also to thank William Lucas and Trudi Lucas for their substantive contributions and guidance through the complexities of administering the project.

Finally, our most profound thanks are extended to school administrators in the districts in which the study was conducted. Without their cooperation and assistance this project would not have been possible.

Summary

The present study examines resistance to desegregation within a comprehensive framework of explanatory variables that include socio-attitudinal characteristics of parents, implementation features of the desegregation plans and objective characteristics pertaining to the schools themselves. In particular, two forms of resistance are examined: 1) rejection--the decision to transfer a child from a public to a private school; 2) protest--the decision to actively and overtly oppose desegregation while keeping the child in the public school system. Both forms of resistance hinder the success of school desegregation. Protest renders difficult the orderly implementation of desegregation, and may encourage delay and obstructionism. Rejection directly impedes the establishment of stable racial balances in the schools and if widespread, results in serious problems of resegregation.

The study is set in seven desegregated school districts in Florida. The districts were selected to provide variation along several dimensions: desegregation plan features, time at which desegregation was implemented, size, region and socio-demographic characteristics of the population. The seven county districts were Dade, Palm Beach, Duval, Leon, Escambia, Manatee and Lee. Four of the districts are among the 100 largest in the country; Dade (6th); Duval (20th); Palm Beach (49th) and Escambia (82nd). Two districts are smaller-sized SMSA's, Lee and Leon; and one is non-metropolitan, Manatee. The districts are spread throughout the state, reflecting Florida's cultural heterogeneity: Dade and Palm Beach on the southeast coast; Duval on the northeast coast; Leon, and Escambia in the northern panhandle; and Manatee and Lee on the west coast.

Interviews were conducted during the Winter and Spring of 1973, with 2,112 white compliers--parents with children attending assigned public schools at both 1971-72 and 1972-73--and 1,286 white rejecters--parents whose children attended public schools in 1971-72 but who were enrolled in private school in 1972-73. Of the compliers, 450 indicated their disapproval of desegregation by signing a petition, contacting the school board directly or attending a meeting. These respondents were classified as protesters.

Findings

Rejection

The stereotype of the rejecter as a lower class Southerner with racist views is simply inaccurate. Racial prejudice does not appear to be strongly related to the decision to flee from desegregated schools. Furthermore, rejecters were no more likely to have been born and raised in the South than outside that region. Although non-Southerners expressed greater attitudinal acceptance of desegregation than Southerners, they were no readier to accept it behaviorally.

The tendency to reject increases with social status. Yet this tendency does not mean that higher status parents reject because of prejudice against those of lower social position. Class prejudice does not distinguish well between rejecters and compliers. The ability to afford the private school alternative, however, does distinguish between them: upper income parents are more likely to reject than those of more modest incomes. Thus, rejection largely transcends white parents' views toward race and class and their regional upbringing, but not their personal resources.

The tendency in the media and among many politicians has been to equate the controversy over desegregation with the issue of busing. Our data do not support the contention that the root cause of resistance to desegregation is "forced" busing. To the contrary, we found no relationship between the onset of a bus ride to school and a decision to reject. A companion issue to busing, the distance between home and school, also had little effect. The public furor over busing seems to mask a more fundamental basis for rejection: the racial balances in desegregated schools. While our analysis does not support the theory of a tipping point in racial balances, the data do indicate a threshold point for rejection in the vicinity of 30 percent black enrollment in the school. Movement across that threshold from a school 29 percent black or less in one year to a school 30 percent or above in the next year was particularly likely to produce rejection. Once the percent black in the schools was taken into account, the apparent effects of other desegregation plan features (such as being bused to school) were reduced nearly to the vanishing point.

Protest

Protest behavior appears to be more an emotional and ephemeral response to school desegregation than is rejection. Specific experiences with desegregation (e.g. high percent black school enrollment) contribute far less and attitudes about race and school integration contribute far more to protest than to rejection. Furthermore, protest is not a precursor to rejection. This year's protester is no more likely than the quiescent complier to become next year's rejecter. The two forms of behavioral resistance appear to be different kinds of responses to desegregation arising from different sources.

Given the emotional roots of protest behavior, modifications of desegregation plans are unlikely to reduce its frequency or intensity. Perhaps with the passage of time and the stabilization of desegregated education, protest behavior will abate. For the present, the policy-maker need not fear that protest is a forerunner to rejection. Also, while support for school desegregation is not widespread among whites, it is accepted substantially more often than might be inferred from the messages that the policy-maker receives from parents in the school district.

Policy Implications

The feasibility of school desegregation in large urban school districts is currently a heated issue. Opponents of desegregation point to the experience of Atlanta and other larger cities to argue that desegregation results in white withdrawal and eventual resegregation. *Perhaps the most important lesson of the present study is that stable desegregation can be successfully achieved*. Of course, shifts to private schools did occur in our study districts. This movement was largest in the metropolitan districts with Duval losing more than 10 percent of its white enrollment during the first year of desegregation. While white withdrawal was non-trivial in magnitude, it was not of sufficient proportions to threaten the maintenance of bi-racial schooling. Furthermore, private school enrollments appear to have leveled off across the state of Florida after the initial years of desegregation. *Thus, while some white flight may be inevitable with school desegregation, it need not result in complete resegregation of the schools*.

Nevertheless, our data suggest, that white rejection of desegregation can present a serious problem for public education. Rejecters tend to be precisely the kinds of people whose continued attachment to public education is essential for sustaining the school's external support and internal achievement: those of upper-middle to upper status, with little prejudice, aware of conditions in the schools, and committed to educational quality for their children. Resegregation along class lines could brand the public schools as inferior and jeopardize the long run ability of public schools to compete with private schools in the educational marketplace. The goal of desegregation is to provide equal educational opportunities in the public school for all students. A failure to minimize resegregation could lead to a situation in which those educational opportunities are not equally good, but equally bad. The problem of white withdrawal cannot be ignored even if it does not threaten racial stability in the schools.

This study suggests some measures that may minimize white withdrawal and resegregation. An important factor distinguishing our districts from others in the nation is their county-wide scope. Residential mobility from one municipality to another within the county was not a practical means of avoiding desegregation. The only option to a desegregated public school was a segregated private school. Where desegregation has been accompanied by massive rejection, it is often because whites move from a city school district to a nearby suburban school district. In such cases, the alternative to a desegregated public school in the city may be an all-white public school in the suburbs. To the extent that area-wide desegregation eliminates residential mobility as a force toward segregation, this study's findings appear to support consolidated, area-wide desegregation planning. Reducing the opportunities for rejection reduces its incidence.

For school districts desegregating under conditions similar to those in our districts, maintaining racial balances in all schools at less than

30 percent black would seem to be a worthwhile policy objective from the standpoint of minimizing rejection. The districts in this study clustered between 18 and 33 percent black school age population. In many districts, the percent black enrollment may exceed 30 percent, making it impossible to maintain black enrollments below the threshold. Where these districts are surrounded by others with fewer black, area-wide desegregation planning could bring the overall racial balance below the threshold. This would of course require cross-busing. Our data suggest that busing may be employed without much penalty to achieve desirable racial balances.

Parents' reactions to desegregation are intertwined with their concerns about the quality of education offered in the public schools and the ability of the schools to provide a safe and orderly learning environment. Such concerns doubtless exist even when desegregation is not an issue, but they appear to be intensified by desegregation. Among white parents in our study districts, satisfaction with the quality of education, safety and discipline in the public schools declined markedly as the percent black enrollment increased. Further, parental dissatisfaction with these school characteristics provides an additional spark to rejection. Therefore, desegregation planners must be sensitive to parents' views of the standards of education and order within desegregation schools. They should make strong efforts to bring about the official accreditation of all schools in their districts and to assure that the traditional functions of the public schools are maintained as desegregation takes place. *In short, the achievement of stable and successful bi-racial school systems is simultaneously a problem in the logistics of desegregation planning and in building parents' confidence in the qualitative environment within the public schools*.

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Chapter I

THE DESEGREGATION CONTROVERSY

Introduction

School desegregation has been the most controversial of contemporary public policies. Twenty years after Brown, it remains an issue capable of generating passion and resistance. The scope and depth of the controversy was perhaps inevitable representing, as it has, the interface between the nation's most significant public institution, the schools, and its profoundest social problem, race relations. Nowhere have people invested more money in a public service than Americans have in their schools.[1]

The willingness of Americans to tax heavily and spend so freely for education reflects a remarkable faith in the efficacy of education for individual and collective progress. Americans have believed in economic competition and the survival of the fittest in the marketplace; but the harsher aspects of Social Darwinism in American life have long been tempered by a corresponding belief that all should have an equal start in the competition through a good education. The American ideology accepts economic inequalities that reflect differences in talents and motivation to succeed, but not a rigid class system based on privilege alone.

This American attitude toward public education was best expressed in an address by President Kennedy on June 11, 1963, following George Wallace's "stand in the schoolhouse door" at the University of Alabama:[2]

> This is one country. It has become one country because all of us and all the people who came here had an equal chance to develop their talents.
>
> ...Therefore I'm asking for your help in making it easier...to give a chance for every child to be educated to the limit of his talent.
>
> As I've said before, not every child has an equal talent or an equal ability or equal motivation. But they should have the equal right to develop their talent and their ability and their motivation to make something of themselves...

Thus, within the American ethos the public schools are thought to provide a leveling influence, a place where background liabilities might be overcome and the promise of a bright and prosperous future seized.

Paradoxically, this same deeply ingrained American belief in the value of education may itself have been a barrier to desegregation. There is ample evidence to suggest that whites have feared that desegregation would lower the quality of public education, hinder their own children's learning, and thus damage their future prospects. Theories of the biological inferiority of blacks were once widely promoted and, interestingly enough, are enjoying some renewed interest today.[3] Given the profound belief in the value of education, the presence of dubious theories about black people, and a society historically tolerant of racial prejudice and discrimination, it is clear, though lamentable, why the issue of school desegregation has lingered on the national political agenda.

The History of Enforcement

The Supreme Court's decision in Brown (1955) placed the burden for desegregation upon local school authorities under the scrutiny of Federal District Courts. The decision was bound to produce delay. As the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights has noted, "black plaintiffs had to return to the courts repeatedly to secure implementation of *Brown*."[4] As Orfield has observed, the Federal District Courts were presided over by "men born and trained in the South, active in the community and political life of their states, and appointed to the bench with the endorsement of the states' leading politicians."[5] In short, the primary responsibility for implementation and enforcement fell to authorities very much part of a regional milieu with strong separatist ideology, "where 80 percent of their fellow whites opposed the Supreme Court decision."[6] As Peltason observed, while the judges would do what was necessary, "they can hardly be expected on their own initiative to move against the local power structure. If their instructions from above are ambiguous, the ambiguity will be resolved to conform to the judge's own convictions and the mores of his district."[7]

Nevertheless, most Federal judges acted responsibly, according to the Civil Rights Commission, "courageously and honorably."[8] Local school officials were repeatedly required to show "good faith" efforts to implement desegregation. For the most part, however, local officials reacted with open, hostile resistance, either refusing to act, delaying as long as possible, or helping whites escape when desegregation became inevitable. "Massive resistance" became the order of the day in Virginia. The doctrine of interposition was widely promoted, and southern states passed anti-desegregation laws. Prince Edward County, Virginia, closed its public schools as an alternative to desegregating them. Complicated and demanding pupil assignment procedures and freedom of choice programs were adopted, sometimes in conjunction with painfully slow plans to desegregate schools one grade each year. Many states and localities approved tuition grants or allowed tax exemptions for whites who chose to flee to segregation academies.[9] The Courts eventually struck down these tactics of obstruction and evasion. That the day of reckoning was successfully delayed, however, is attested to by the fact that in the 1963-64 school year only 1.2 percent of black elementary and secondary school students in eleven southern states attended schools with whites. By the following year, the figure had increased to only 2.2 percent.[10] Clearly, litigation and court decrees alone were not adequate to achieve substantial compliance.

Passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, and tougher stances by the Federal Courts brought increasing pressure on recalcitrant school districts.[11] With both the Executive and Judicial branches of government adopting a harder line, substantial progress began to be made. By 1966, 14 percent of southern black public school children attended predominantly white schools; the figures rose to 18 and 40 percent for 1968 and 1970 respectively.[12] By 1972, the South led the nation in school desegregation, with over 46 percent of its black children attending predominantly white schools. Comparable figures for the border states and north/west states were 32 percent and 28 percent respectively.[13]

Reactions to Enforcement

School desegregation has always met with widespread protest by white parents. Organized protest groups sprang up immediately after Brown v. Board of Education. White Citizens Counsels were formed throughout the South. A moribund Ku Klux Klan was revitalized by the issue. Black students attempting to enter previously all-white schools were greeted with bitter hostility and venemous threats by whites assembled outside. And for a long time it worked. Faced with white community outrage, local school officials took the path of least resistance and acted as if the Supreme Court had never spoken. The Supreme Court, in fact, had anticipated public hostility in recognizing that change would not come immediately. Brown (1955) required "good faith" efforts to dismantle dual school systems "with all deliberate speed." Limited delay was permitted if a local school board could establish its necessity in the public interest.[14] The Court, however, would not allow violence and intimidation to govern the issue. In Cooper v. Aaron, the Court denied a requested stay of its 1958 integration plan by the Little Rock School Board, saying that the constitutional rights of black students would "not be sacrificed or yielded to...violence and disorder."[15]

Later, when local failure to comply with HEW desegregation guidelines might result in a cutoff of federal funds, a federal suit, or desegregation plans framed by the courts themselves, local school authorities could no longer yield to hard-core protesters and had to move from "paper compliance" to actual desegregation.

While protest has remained a troublesome phenomenon within desegregated school systems, the onset of desegregation resulted in a new form of resistance--rejection of the public schools for private segregated academies. Private school enrollments in the South grew rapidly, reaching an estimated 500,000 in the school year, 1971-72.[16] The number of private schools in the South mushroomed in the late 1960's and early 1970's. A New York Times survey found that 700 all-white private schools had been established in the eleven southern states from 1965-70, 300 of them in 1970 alone when desegregation finally came to recalcitrant districts in the deep South.[17]

Some school districts suffered severe resegregation problems. By

1967, Surrey County, Virginia, lost all its white pupils to a private school, and the public schools became all black.[18] The public schools in Wilkinson County, Mississippi, were all black by 1970.[19] A suit to desegregate Atlanta's public schools was brought in 1958, when the schools were 70 percent white and 30 percent black. By 1971, the school system had become 70 percent black and 30 percent white.[20] In 1970, the Jackson, Mississippi, public schools had 40,000 students, 55 percent of whom were white. Jackson's "freedom of choice" plan was struck down in the middle of the school year, and replaced by a court ordered desegregation plan. By 1972, white enrollment in the schools had decreased by 10,500 and the schools were 64 percent black.[21]

In some southern states, private school growth seemed to be leveling off by the early 1970's. In others, however, it was growing dramatically. In Florida, 58 new private schools opened their doors for the 1971-72 school year, all of them in areas recently affected by desegregation.[22] In North Carolina, private school enrollment increased by 34 percent between 1970-71 and 1971-72.[23]

White flight from desegregating schools has not, of course, been limited to southern or border states. For example, a drop-off in white enrollments followed desegregation in Pasadena, California.[24] Similarly, the Boston School Department estimated that approximately 10,000 students, mostly white, had left public schools in that city in the first year of desegregation.[25]

Ramifications of Resistance

Despite these impressive figures on private school growth, it would be mistaken to assume that desegregating school districts are awash in a tide of white rejection. The 500,000 southern whites estimated to be in private schools in 1971-72, represented only slightly more than five percent of all southern white school children.[26] Viewed from this perspective, school desegregation in the South, though slow in coming, could be called successful nevertheless.

Even a small annual rejection rate, however, aggregated over the years, could produce significant long run attrition in the white student population unless balanced by other factors, such as growth in the white school age population and, perhaps, a return of some rejecters to the public schools. Thus, a school district faced with dwindling white enrollment each year could hardly be sanguine about its prospects of avoiding eventual resegregation. Additionally, declines in public school enrollment, however small, increase per pupil costs of education, and more importantly, may mean the loss of state funds where such support is tied by formula to average daily attendance.[27]

The presence of an alternative private school system poses a threat to public education in several ways. Qualified teachers and administrators may be drawn away by more attractive salaries, lighter responsibilities or to escape the challenges of desegregated schools.[28] No one resents upward professional mobility, but if the opportunity structure feeds on public resentment and hostility toward desegregation, the situation is socially unhealthy and subversive of the goal of good public education for all students, white and black.

If, as suspected, social class is related to rejection, three other important consequences for the schools could follow. As Benson suggests, this nation has not developed an elementary-secondary educational system rigidly stratified along class lines with private schools on top and public schools on the bottom.[29] Public school attendance has not been a barrier to social mobility, and no systematic bias exists against public school graduates. This is because public schools have been used by rich and poor alike, and public schools thus are not viewed as basically inferior, lower class institutions. If rejection arises disproportionately among the well-to-do who can afford to pay both public school taxes and private school tuitions, then the public schools may lose their position in the educational status hierarchy, and poorer students, white and black, may be consigned to second-class educational citizenship. For the first time in American history, then, public schools may be perceived as intrinsically inferior, and those who attend may find their opportunities for upward mobility constrained.

Many have contended that the economically privileged hold a disproportionate amount of political power in American society. Banfield and Wilson argue, however, that this power is not wielded exclusively in terms of their own narrow economic self interest. According to Banfield and Wilson, a "public-regarding" ethos prevails in the upper-middle and upper classes and they often promote increased expenditures for public services, even when they benefit less than others.[30] Should desegregation lead to a substantial shift in the educational orientation of upper class individuals to private schools, they may take their "public regardingness" with them, and a powerful element of financial support for the public schools may be lost.

Studies of the educational effects of desegregation have shown that the initial progress of black students, as measured by standardized test scores, is related most significantly to association in the classroom with upper-middle and upper class white students.[31] Whether this may be a permanent phenomenon is of course, questionable. What is certain is that a distinct advantage for black students, at least in the short run, could be jeopardized by disproportionate flight from desegregated schools by upper middle and upper class white families.

By the same token, an important socializing experience for middle and upper class white students is lost when their parents withdraw them from desegregating schools. To the extent that school desegregation breaks down racial insularity, it is seen by many as a necessary first step in the evolution toward an integrated society.[32]

In some school districts protest against desegregation continues unabated, with consequences potentially as serious as "white flight." While active opposition by parents of public school students can no longer prevent desegregation from occuring, it can make orderly implementation impossible, even when school officials are determined and committed. When school officials themselves are reluctant servants of the law, white protest may lead to an erosion of administrative and fiscal support for the public schools. In the face of widespread parental protest, some school districts have reduced their school tax millage either in defiance of desegregation, or out of a newly found indifference to public education, or to ease the financial burden for protesting white parents threatening to send their children to private schools.[33] Anticipating rejection by protesting parents, some districts closed public school buildings as part of their desegregation plans and turned them over to private school organizations at nominal cost.[34]

Some of the other effects of protest may be less insidious but no less harmful. Support for school bond issues has fallen sharply in recent years. In fiscal year 1962, there were 1,432 school bond elections nationally, and 72.4 percent passed. By 1971, the number of elections dropped to 1,086, and only 46.7 percent passed.[35] To be sure, school desegregation cannot be held responsible by itself for declining support. There is evidence, however, that attitudes toward desegregation affect people's willingness to support school bond referenda.[36] When an additional reason for voting "no" to financial support for the schools is added to those already existing, it can only hurt.

Opposition to desegregation may affect the willingness of people to support the schools actively in other ways, and may also affect perceptions of school effectiveness, and trust and confidence in school leadership. In American society, it has been taken as axiomatic that public institutions cannot endure or function effectively without broadly based public support.

Thus, resistance to desegregation--both protest and rejection--constitutes a serious challenge to the effectiveness and stability of public education.

Purpose of the Study

For the first decade after the Brown decision the nub of the desegregation problem was to secure compliance by local elites--school boards and administrators of palpably dual school systems. The problem has now shifted to the mass level of society. Now that many school districts, especially in the South, are undergoing system-wide desegregation, parents are confronted with the decision to resist or accede to the application of desegregation to their children. While legal and administrative pressures bind local elites to implement desegregation policies in their districts, individual citizens are not bound to accept them. Thus, the problem confronting school policy makers today is no longer simply how to implement desegregation, but how to do so while minimizing parental resistance.

If policy-makers are to make meaningful attempts to minimize resistance, they must know who is engaging in resistance and the factors impinging on this behavior. It is the express purpose of this report to provide school policy-makers with this information by examining resistance behavior to school desegregation. In particular, two forms of resistance are examined: 1) rejection--the decision to transfer a child from a public to a private school; 2) protest--the decision to actively and overtly oppose desegregation while keeping the child in the public school system. Both forms of resistance hinder the success of school desegregation. Protest renders difficult the orderly implementation of desegregation, may encourage delay and obstructionism, and may be the first step toward eventual rejection. Rejection, at the least, impedes the establishment of stable racial balances in the schools; at worst, it threatens to bring about the resegregation of the public schools.

Parents' decisions to resist or to accept desegregation will be viewed as a function of two major types of factors: 1) the application of desegregation plan features to their children; 2) their personal attitudes and beliefs about desegregation and their personal resources for engaging in resistance behavior. Generally, then, resistance and acceptance is a function of policy stimuli external to the individual and his or her personal readiness and capability for action.

Both types of factors may involve costs and benefits that weigh in parents' decisions. Consider first the costs that may accrue to parents from the application of the desegregation plan. It is important to note that while a school district is declared racially unitary as a whole, individuals in the district experience varying impacts from the desegregation plan. For example, the plan will require some children to be bused to schools miles away from home while others are assigned to the same neighborhood school that they would have attended before desegregation. In the former case, desegregation imposes a high cost on the individual; in the latter case, desegregation is virtually costless (ignoring other factors for the purpose of illustration). And while some children are assigned to schools with student bodies composed about equally of blacks and whites, others will have only a few schoolmates of the opposite race. Again, the impact of the desegregation plan varies from family to family. In general, we assume that as children increasingly experience direct applications of the desegregation plan, the probability of resistance by their parents will increase.

Not all factors contributing to resistance are within the ability of school policy-makers to influence directly or in the short run. The reduction of racial prejudice, for example, cannot be achieved overnight or by policy-makers alone. On the other hand, school officials may have a considerable measure of control over some of the factors affecting parents' decisions to resist desegregation--e.g., the details of local desegregation plans and the extent of their application to families in the community; the quality of education and order within the public schools; and related factors within their purview as planners and administrators.

Therefore, school policy-makers are in a position quite analagous to parents. They must weigh the costs and benefits of alternative courses of action. Given the necessity of desegregating the school system, the policy-maker must attempt to minimize the costs of doing so. Obviously, the policy-maker's decisions will be constrained to some extent by the characteristics of the district as a whole: the practicability of various school attendance patterns as a function of the areal distribution of buildings and children; the logistics of busing in relation to geographical features and traffic patterns; the availability of financial and human resources to the school system. The stress in this report, however, is on the additional costs of the policy-maker's decisions in the form of individual resistance and aggregate resegregation stemming from the decisions of parents of school age children. Policy-makers must include this as an essential part of their cost calculus in making desegregation policies. In order to do so, they require systematic knowledge of the sources of parents' decisions to reject, protest, or to accede behaviorally to desegregation in their districts. With such knowledge, policy-makers may be able to change individual decisions by modifying various factors within their control. In principle, the policy-maker could eliminate or minimize those factors contributing most importantly to parental decisions to resist, and refine and extend policies that are conducive to parents' decisions to accept public school desegregation.

By assessing the relative effects of policy implementation factors and individual orientations on parents' decisions, the present study seeks to contribute to both social policy and social science. To what extent is resistance to public policy a matter of personal attributes or the requirements imposed on the individual by the policy itself? That is the question of interest to social scientists. How can public school desegregation be carried out in a manner that will induce public acceptance and curb resistance. That is the current question of critical importance for desegregation policy-makers.

FOOTNOTES

[1] The Tax Foundation, *Facts and Figures on Government Finance* (New York: Tax Foundation, Inc., 1973), pp. 167, 232.

[2] Anthony Lewis and The New York Times, *Portrait of a Decade* (New York: Random House, 1964), p. 195.

[3] Herbert H. Hyman and Paul B. Sheatsley, "Attitudes Toward Desegregation," *Scientific American*, 211 (July, 1964): pp. 16-23.

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Chapter II

DATA AND METHODS

Setting of the Study

This study is set in seven desegregated school districts in Florida. The districts were selected to provide variation along several dimensions: desegregation plan features, time at which desegregation was implemented, size, region and socio-demographic characteristics of the population. The seven county districts were Dade, Palm Beach, Duval, Leon, Escambia, Manatee and Lee. Four of the districts are among the 100 largest in the country: Dade (6th); Duval (20th); Palm Beach (49th); and Escambia (82nd). Two districts are smaller-sized SMSA's, Lee and Leon; and one is non-metropolitan, Manatee. The districts are spread throughout the state, reflecting Florida's cultural heterogeneity: Dade and Palm Beach on the southeast coast; Duval on the northeast coast; Leon and Escambia in the northern panhandle; and Manatee and Lee on the west coast.

The districts chosen use a wide variety of plan features to achieve desegregation.

1. Rezoning -- redrawing school zones to achieve racial balances by shifting attendance boundaries to encompass both white and black residential areas.

2. Pairing and clustering -- placing two or more schools together and assigning all children to attend one school (or schools) for some grades, and another school (or schools) for other grades.

3. Modified feeder patterns -- feeding students from predominantly white and black schools into the same upper level school.

4. Consolidation -- establishing district-wide elementary or secondary schools.

5. Busing -- designating certain black and white target residential areas for school exchanges, or increasing transportation in tandem with one of the other plan features.

Time of desegregation covers a three year span. Table 1 shows the districts with various identifying characteristics.

Desegregation and Private School Growth

Florida was not among the states to relax segregation earliest, but neither was it one of the last. As in all the other southern states, pupil assignment laws, and freedom of choice plans were adopted to give the appearance of compliance with the Brown decisions. As elsewhere, desegregation proceeded slowly; but reactions against it were not extreme. Pressure to close the public schools in defiance was resisted, and Florida was one of only three southern states not to authorize tuition grants for private non-sectarian schooling.[1]

Leroy Collins, governor from 1954-1960, was widely acknowledged as a "moderate" on the desegregation issue. Collins defeated an arch-segregationist foe in 1954 to fill an unexpired gubernatorial term. In that campaign, he pledged to preserve segregation; but upon reelection to a full four year term in 1956, Collins shifted his position. He began to support the Brown decisions as the law of the land; he urged Floridians and all Southerners to forget the racial antagonism of the past; he proposed ways to open a dialogue between white and black leaders to face and resolve racial issues; and he discreetly promoted desegregation, particularly among the state's largest school systems.[2]

By 1964, 16 of Florida's 67 county school districts had some desegregation. While Florida's record was better than many other southern states, it still represented tokenism. Only 1.5 percent of all the state's black

TABLE 1

SCHOOL DISTRICT CHARA

SCHOOL DISTRICT	PLAN FEATURES	% BLACK STUDENT POPULA 1972
Dade	Pairing and Clustering; Busing	26.4
Duval	Pairing and Clustering; Modified Feeder Patterns; Rezoning; Busing	32.6
Escambia	Rezoning; Modified Feeder Patterns; Busing	28.1
Lee	Target Area Busing	18.4
Leon	Rezoning; Busing	33.0
Manatee	Modified Feeder Patterns; Rezoning; Busing	21.7
Palm Beach	Target Area Busing	28.6

TABLE 1

DISTRICT CHARACTERISTICS

% BLACK STUDENT POPULATION 1972	YEAR OF IMPLEMENTATION OF COURT ORDER	REGION AND SIZE
26.4	1970	Southeast; Large SMSA
32.6	1971	Northeast; Large SMSA
28.1	1969	Northern; Medium SMSA
18.4	1969	West Coast; Small SMSA
33.0	1970	Northern; Small SMSA
21.7	1970	West Coast; Non-Metro
28.6	1971	Southeast; Large SMSA

students attended schools with whites, and the schools remained racially identifiable.[3] Significantly, the districts in which desegregation occurred matched the ecological pattern found by Pettigrew to predict relative ease of desegregation. They were high urban-low black and non-traditional. Those districts for which Pettigrew's scheme predicted relative difficulty of desegregation remained completely segregated.[4]

The private school tradition in Florida predates desegregation, and has been stronger than in other southern states, except for heavily Catholic Louisiana. According to 1960 Census figures, 7.9 percent of the white elementary and secondary students in Florida attended private schools, as opposed to an average of 6.0 percent in the rest of the South (4.9 percent, excluding Louisiana).[5]

Nevertheless, there is evidence of a linkage between desegregation and private school growth in Florida. At the start of school in fall, 1971, 58 new private schools opened their doors, all in areas where desegregation was a big issue. From 1969-1973, the period of Florida's most significant advances in desegregation, total private school enrollment was estimated to have increased approximately 16 percent.[6] By contrast, total public school enrollments increased 8.6 percent over the same period.[7]

In 1968, the schools in the present study's districts were essentially segregated. By 1970, significant desegregation had occurred in four of the districts. By 1972, all seven districts had been declared unitary. Nevertheless, as Table 2 shows, variations in the degree of desegregation still existed.[8]

TABLE 2

1972 RACIAL BALANCES IN SEVEN COUNTIES

Blacks Attending Public Schools Which Were:

COUNTY	0-49.9% BLACK	50-79.9% BLACK	80-100% BLACK	TOTALS
Dade	43.71%	28.60%	27.69%	100% (N=62,558)
Duval	76.83%	9.28%	13.89%	100% (N=34,597)
Escambia	46.08%	39.53%	14.39%	100% (N=13,463)
Lee	100%	--	--	100% (N= 4,300)
Leon	77.84%	17.33%	4.83%	100% (N= 7,076)
Manatee	85.46%	14.54%	--	100% (N= 3,859)
Palm Beach	69.33%	26.25%	5.02%	100% (N=18,685)

Table 3 shows total public and private school enrollments, grades K-12, in the seven counties for the 1970-71 and 1973-74 school years. As can be seen, public school enrollments experienced a small overall growth of 1.5 percent. By contrast, private school enrollments grew 34.4 percent.[9] Private school enrollment growth exceeded public school enrollment growth in five counties.

Another way to view private school growth rates is to compare the ratio of private to public school enrollment in the seven districts for 1970-71 and 1973-74. As Table 4 shows, the percentage of all students,

TABLE 3

TOTAL PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SCHOOL ENROLLMENTS, K-12,
AND PERCENT CHANGE, 1970-1973

	FALL, 1970		FALL, 1973		% CHANGE 1970 - 1973	
	PUBLIC	PRIVATE	PUBLIC	PRIVATE	PUBLIC	PRIVATE
Dade	259,452	33,138	263,932	44,306	+ 1.7	+ 33.7
Duval	130,680	8,777	121,118	14,179	- 7.3	+ 61.5
Escambia	51,192	6,205	51,815	6,377	+ 1.2	+ 2.8
Lee	23,350	1,044	30,018	1,168	+28.4	+ 11.9
Leon	22,376	1,482	22,816	2,766	+ 2.0	+ 86.6
Manatee	18,585	744	21,609	840	+16.3	+ 12.9
Palm Beach	74,380	7,195	77,542	9,081	+ 4.3	+ 26.2
TOTALS	580,041	58,585	588,920	78,717	+ 1.5	+ 34.4

K-12, in private schools increased in 5 districts, decreased in 1, and remained virtually constant in another. Overall, the percentage of students attending private schools grew from about 9 percent in 1970-71 to about 12 percent in 1973-74.[10]

It would appear that private school growth occurred partly at the expense of public school enrollments. Taking the rank order of districts as presented in Table 4, there is a reasonably strong association between increased percentages of students attending private schools, and low public school enrollment growth rates (Spearman's Rho = .643). Furthermore, the private school growth rate was undoubtedly accounted for by whites almost entirely. While updated private school enrollment figures by race are difficult to obtain, Florida's private schools appear to be virtually all white. According to the 1970 Census, 94 percent of the private school enrollment throughout the state was white.[11]

TABLE 4

PERCENTAGES OF STUDENTS, K-12, IN PRIVATE SCHOOLS, 1970-71 and 1973-74

	% PRIVATE 1970-71	% PRIVATE 1973-74	% DIFF.	RANK
Leon	6.2	10.8	+ 4.6	1
Duval	6.3	10.5	+ 4.2	2
Dade	11.3	14.4	+ 3.1	3
Palm Beach	8.8	10.5	+ 1.7	4
Escambia	10.8	11.0	+ 0.2	5
Manatee	3.8	3.7	- 0.1	6
Lee	4.3	3.7	- 0.6	7

Private schools in the seven counties were classified into three types: 1) Catholic parochial; 2) Protestant and other sectarian; 3) Non-sectarian. As Table 5 shows, in 1970, the majority of private school students attended Catholic parochial schools. By 1973, however, the balance had shifted; the majority of private school students attended Protestant and other sectarian or non-sectarian schools.[12]

Catholic parochial enrollments declined between years; enrollments in the other two school categories rose sharply. The steadiest and most substantial growth rate occurred in Protestant and other sectarian schools. Their enrollments increased in every county, and were up a striking 111 percent overall. Non-sectarian private school enrollments also grew

TABLE 5

PRIVATE SCHOOL ENROLLMENTS, BY

	FALL, 1970			FALL,
	Catholic Parochial	Protestant and other Sectarian	Non-Sectarian	Catholic Parochial	Protest and oth Sectari
Dade	20,904	5,186	7,048	20,451	11,658
Duval	5,593	1,769	1,415	5,453	6,714
Escambia	2,823	2,889	493	2,470	3,616
Lee	518	255	271	550	394
Leon	425	1,057	--	392	2,067
Manatee	420	163	161	411	351
Palm Beach	5,048	1,207	940	4,921	1,645
TOTALS	35,731	12,526	10,328	34,648	26,445

TABLE 5

RIVATE SCHOOL ENROLLMENTS, BY TYPE, 1970 and 1973

	FALL, 1973			% CHANGE, 1970-73		
Non- tarian	Catholic Parochial	Protestant and other Sectarian	Non-Sectarian	Catholic Parochial	Protestant and other Sectarian	Non-Sectarian
,048	20,451	11,658	12,197	- 2.2	+124.8	+ 73.1
,415	5,453	6,714	2,012	- 2.5	+279.5	+ 42.2
493	2,470	3,616	291	-12.5	+ 25.2	- 41.0
271	550	394	224	+ 6.2	+ 54.5	- 17.4
--	392	2,067	307	- 7.8	+ 95.6	**
161	411	351	78	- 2.2	+115.3	- 51.6
940	4,921	1,645	2,515	- 2.5	+ 36.3	+167.6
,328	34,648	26,445	17,624	- 3.0%	+111.2%	+ 67.7%

substantially. The pattern was unsteady, however, falling sharply in some districts, rising sharply in others.

Overall, the comparative data on public and private school enrollments point to resegregation tendencies in at least five of the seven districts.

Sampling Procedures

To determine the factors associated with behavioral reactions to desegregation at the individual level, a sample survey of parents of school age children in the seven districts was conducted in early 1973. Two sets of parents were interviewed: 1) compliers--those who left their children in desegregated public schools; 2) rejecters--those who withdrew their children from desegregated public schools and placed them in local private schools.

In six of the seven counties, official school records were used as the basic sampling frame. The complier sample was obtained from pupil locator files or computer listings containing information on each student enrolled in a public school. In each district, information, including name of student, grade, race, sex, name of household head and address, was compiled on a card systematically for every "nth" student having attended public schools in both 1971-72 and 1972-73. Eliminating siblings, a list was produced, three times the projected number of interviews. Random sampling of this group of names was then employed to yield the required number of parent interviews, stratified according to size of county.

Information on private school rejecters was also obtained from official records on student transfers or withdrawals. A uniform code is used statewide to identify students transferring from public to private school. We recorded all the names in each district coded as having switched from a public school in the district to a private school in the district between 1971-72 and 1972-73, or since the opening of school in 1972. The rejector sample was confined to transfers made within the last year to help minimize errors in respondents' recall. In districts where transfer lists were acknowledged to be incomplete, visits were made to all sizeable private schools in the county to request information on new students for 1972-73. In most cases, the private schools agreed to provide lists of such students with parents' names, addresses and telephone numbers. These lists were screened over the telephone; only those who had transferred within the district between 1971-72 and 1972-73 or during the fall of 1972 were retained. The combined list from public and private sources constituted the sampling frame for rejecters. In some districts interviews were sought with parents of all students on the rejecter lists; in other districts, where the lists were longer, random sampling was employed.

In three districts, all the necessary information for the complier sample was contained in school board offices. In three others, it was necessary to travel from school-to-school to get the necessary information. In four districts it was also necessary to supplement public school district information on private school rejecters with visits to the private schools.

Sampling procedures in the seventh county differed. Access was not permitted to official public school records. Complier interviews were obtained on the basis of an area probability sample, with blocks chosen at random from census tract data. These blocks were canvassed and interviews obtained in households with public school children. Rejecters were identified from lists provided by nine of the largest private schools in the county.

Each interview with an adult respondent was conducted with respect to a specific "cue" child--the one identified from the public or private school lists in all cases except the area probability county, where the "cue" child for compliers was determined randomly from the names of all public school children supplied by respondents in each household. Where both parents were present within the household, respondents were selected on a random basis.

The entire sampling process covered a 7-month period. From September through December, 1972, the research team traveled from district-to-district and from school-to-school to draw the samples in Duval, Leon, Escambia, Manatee and Lee Counties. The Dade and Palm Beach samples were drawn from January through March, 1973. Interviewing began in January, 1973, and was completed by June, 1973.

Sample Description

The sample contained 2,112 white compliers--parents with children attending assigned public schools in both 1971-72, and 1972-73. There were 1,386 white rejecters--parents whose children attended public schools in 1971-72, but who were withdrawn from assigned public schools for 1972-73 and enrolled in local private schools instead.

The sample school grade distributions match nearly perfectly the school grade distributions within the counties themselves. Because 1971-72 was used as the base school year for determining subsequent compliance/rejection behavior, there were no kindergarten children in the sample.

According to official records, in the seven districts for school year 1972-73, 51.1 percent of all students attended elementary school (grades 1-6), and 48.9 percent were in secondary school (grades 7-12).[13] For our sample, 49.4 percent of the children were in grades 1-6, and 50.6 percent were in grades 7-12. Among rejecters in the sample, 57.5 percent of the children were in elementary schools, and 42.5 in secondary schools. This compares closely with official data showing 59 percent of private school children in grades 1-6, and 41 percent in grades 7-12.[14] This close correspondence between sample statistics and population parameters for both public and private school enrollments strongly suggests that the sample characteristics for parents closely approximate those for the population of public and private school parents in the districts.

Rejecters constituted approximately 40 percent of our white sample. Of course, the ratio of rejecters to compliers in the population was not 2:3. Rejecters were deliberately oversampled to provide enough cases for detailed analysis, and to maximize variation on socio-demographic characteristics and experiences with the conditions of desegregation as well. These objectives would not have been facilitated by drawing rejecters exactly proportionate to their percentage of the population of parents with school age children.

To begin with, it was not possible to do so, given the fragmentary and incomplete records on withdrawal from public schools and corresponding enrollment in private schools. But even were it possible, it would have remained impractical. For any detailed analysis to occur, it would have necessitated drawing a complier sample so large as to place the project beyond practical and financial feasibility.

In any given year, the number of rejecters will be a relatively small percentage of all the parents with children in school. At the time of this project's field work, all of Florida's 67 county school systems were undergoing desegregation. It could not be escaped, therefore, by residential mobility from one district to another. Furthermore, as the data in Table 2 showed, there was substantial desegregation within the seven study counties. Even in the least desegregated districts, Dade and Escambia, virtually all white schools were in a minority. Schools with 90 percent or greater white enrollment were 39 percent of all schools in Dade and 34 percent in Escambia. Thus, desegregation could not be avoided easily by within-county residential mobility either. Aside from fleeing Florida, therefore, the only realistic alternative to a desegregated public school was a segregated private school, and this option is limited by financial considerations and, potentially, by the availability of private school space at the required grade level. Even where white flight is a significant phenomenon, therefore, we would expect it to be limited to a fairly small percentage annually. Even a small annual percentage of rejection, however, is significant. For example, in a district with 50,000 students, an annual rejection rate of only two percent is 1,000 students, the equivalent of a large elementary school.

To compensate for oversampling rejecters, a weighting system was employed to adjust the ratio of compliers to rejecters in our sample to their estimated proportions in the population. Following the opening of schools in 1973-74, all of our 1972-73 respondents were reinterviewed by telephone. They were asked whether the "cue" child about whom the original interview was conducted was still attending elementary or secondary school. Eliminating those respondents whose "cue" child no longer attended school, respondents were then asked whether the child still attended public school (in the case of compliers) or private school (in the case of rejecters). Responses of the 1972-73 compliers were sorted out by county and totalled by whether the child had remained in public school in 1973-74 or had been transferred to private school. This information provided a basis for estimating the actual rate of rejection in each county school district. The complier sample in each county was weighted upwards accordingly.

The weighted sample size for all white compliers is well over 35,000. Obviously, with a sample this large, even the smallest of differences are statistically significant. Consequently all computations with the sample have been done unweighted first. When a relationship with the unweighted sample is statistically significant, the table is presented with the effect parameters for the weighted sample.

In addition to the white samples, a sample of black compliers was drawn as well. Information on blacks was compiled along with the information for white compliers from official public school records. The same random procedures that applied to the selection of white compliers applied to blacks as well. As with white compliers, the grade-in-school distributions for black children fits closely those in the districts at large; 49.4 percent of the black children in the sample attended elementary school, and 50.6 percent attended secondary school. These distributions are identical to those for the sample of white compliers.

The Instrument

The survey instrument was developed during summer, 1972. Scale items were pretested extensively with students enrolled in various courses in the College of Social Science during the summer and fall academic quarters, 1972. The entire instrument underwent several informal pretests, first with professional colleagues, and then with personal acquaintances. Finally a formal pretest was conducted with a random sample of respondents in a nearby county that was not included among the research sites. At each step, items were checked for validity and reliability, clarity, and response effectiveness. The instrument was revised several times prior to actual field-work. The final instrument contained nearly two-hundred items and took approximately ninety minutes to administer.

Field Work

The survey was conducted by National Analysts, Inc., of Philadelphia. All the interviewers were experienced professionals from the Florida field staff. They worked directly under local supervision, with overall field coordination by professional staff from the Philadelphia office. Extensive training sessions for interviewers were held throughout the seven counties under supervision of National Analysts' staff and the research team from Florida Atlantic University. Each prospective interviewer conducted several practice interviews, and was retained or dropped depending on a careful review of the quality of the work. Respondents and interviewers were matched by race. All interviews were checked directly for authenticity by field supervisors.

All interviews were conducted personally with respondents in their homes, with anonymity and total confidentiality guaranteed. Most of the interviews were obtained at initial contact. For those that were not, up to three call-backs were routinely made, although many interviewers persisted further. The overall response rate was 84 percent: by respondent group, 88 percent for compliers; 76 percent for rejecters.

Apart from the survey instrument, additional objective data on the seven districts was gathered from various official state and local sources, and from U.S. Census data. These data included such various school characteristics as state and regional accreditation, building condition, overcrowding, number of students and teachers, and percent black of each; type, condition, racial composition and property values of the neighborhoods schools were located in; information on amount and safety of bus transportation. These data were used to validate respondents' perceptions of various objective conditions or to introduce potentially salient factors that could not be gathered by survey techniques.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Reed Sarratt, Ordeal of Desegregation (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), pp. 35-36, 115-118.

[2] Ibid., pp. 8-10.

[3] Ibid., p. 359.

[4] Thomas F. Pettigrew, "Continuing Barriers to Desegregated Education in the South," Sociology of Education, 38 (Winter, 1965): p. 101.

[5] U.S. Census of Population, General Social and Economic Characteristics, 1960 (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1962).

[6] Florida Department of Education, Florida Educational Directory for 69-70; 70-71; 71-72; 72-73 (Tallahassee, Florida).

[7] Commission of Education, Pupil, Personnel, and Financial Data for 69-70; 70-71; 71-72; 72-73 (Tallahassee, Florida): For 1973-74, Department of Education, "Miscellaneous Pupil Data 1973-74," Research Report #15 (Tallahasee, Florida).

[8] Percentage categories follow the format of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

[9] Figures derived from Florida Educational Directory and Pupil, Personnel, and Financial Data for appropriate years.

[10] Ibid.

[11] U.S. Census of Population, General Social and Economic Characteristics, 1970 (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972).

[12] Florida Educational Directories. Note: private schools for exceptional/special children were not included.

[13] Pupil, Personnel, and Financial Data and Research Report #15.

[14] Florida Educational Directories.

Chapter III

THE DEPENDENT VARIABLE

The method for determining compliance/rejection behavior from official school records has already been outlined. Compliers had children in assigned public schools in both 1971-72 and 1972-73. Rejecters had children in public school in 1971-72, but withdrew them from their assigned public school for 1972-73, and placed them in local private schools instead.

Protest behavior for whites was ascertained from a series of items on the interview schedule. First, feelings toward desegregation were determined by asking respondents the question: "In general, how do you feel about the way school integration has been handled locally?" A five point response scale was used, from "approve strongly" to "disapprove strongly" with "neither" as a mid-point. As Table 1 shows, disapproval of the handling of desegregation was widespread, but significantly higher for rejecters than for compliers.

TABLE 1

FEELINGS ABOUT THE HANDLING OF
DESEGREGATION LOCALLY

	COMPLIERS	REJECTERS
Approve	23.8%	11.5%
Neither	15.8%	12.8%
Disapprove	60.4%	75.7%
	100.0% (N=2104)	100.0% (N=1379)

$X^2 = 100.66$, $p = .0000$

A follow-up question was then asked: "Have you tried to make your feelings known to public officials about the way school integration was handled around here?" Respondents who indicated they had were then asked an open-ended question about what they did. Table 2 shows the distribution of activities engaged in by those who expressed their feelings either pro or con. As can be seen, the types of activities for both groups were quite similar. For those who publicly expressed approval, 88 percent of the activities were in the categories of contacting public officials directly, either face-to-face at school meetings, or by mail or phone; signing and helping to circulate petitions; attending organized meetings in the community. For those who expressed disapproval, 92 percent of the activities were in the same three categories.

TABLE 2

WAYS IN WHICH PARENTS EXPRESSED FEELINGS ABOUT DESEGREGATION

	APPROVAL	DISAPPROVAL
Contacting Public Officials Directly	58%	41%
Signing and Circulating Petitions	12%	28%
Attending Community Meetings	18%	23%
Other	12%	8%
	100%	100%
	(N=157)	(N=2132)

While those who expressed approval were virtually all compliers, those expressing disapproval included both compliers and rejecters. Compliers who disapproved of the handling of desegregation locally were only somewhat less likely to express their feelings than rejecters who disapproved

(36 percent to 44 percent, respectively). However, they did not differ in their activity. For both groups, 92 percent of the activities were in the aforementioned three categories. Thus, the expression of feelings about desegregation locally was not diffuse, ambiguous or nominal. Parents didn't just talk or express their opinions to neighbors, but rather engaged in organized activities designed to reach and make an impact on public officials. However, the vast majority of sentiment about desegregation that reached officials was disapproval. The data in Table 2 show that expressions of disapproval vastly outnumbered expressions of approval. The total number of activities engaged in by those who made their feelings known to public officials was 2,289, over 93 percent of which were expressions of disapproval. Among rejecters who held and expressed feelings about desegregation, virtually all of them disapproved of how it was handled locally. Among compliers who held an opinion on the issue, only 16 percent expressed approval.

There would appear, therefore, to be two significant behavioral groups within the white complier category: 1) Quiescent compliers--those who had no feelings about the handling of desegregation locally, or who had feelings but did not make them known; 2) Protesters--those who disapproved of the handling of desegregation locally and made their feelings known to public officials. A third category of compliers--those who expressed support for desegregation--would be significant, but they were virtually non-existent. A trivial four percent (N=87) of the entire complier sample both approved of the handling of desegregation and made their feelings known. For analysis purposes, this group has been included with quiescent compliers.

For rejecters, it seems to matter little analytically whether they were quiescent or protested as well. In terms of impact, the most extreme form of resistance to desegregation is withdrawal from public schools. The only rationale for partitioning rejecters into protesters and quiescents would be if important independent variables differentiated between them. Preliminary analysis of data shows they do not. To be sure, it is an important question whether protest leads eventually to rejection. But the answer to this question hinges not on analyzing protesting rejecters and quiescent rejecters separately, but rather on determining whether compliers who protest at one point in time are more likely than quiescent compliers to reject later on.

Does protest lead to rejection? A random sample of the 1972-73 respondents were reinterviewed approximately one year later in the spring of 1974. Included in the panel were 158 quiescent compliers and 68 protesters from the year before. As Table 3 shows, protesters from 1972-73 were no more likely to reject in 1973-74 than quiescents. In terms of this limited one year comparison, at least, protest in one year did not appear to lead to rejection in the next.

TABLE 3

TIME COMPARISONS OF COMPLIANCE → REJECTION
1972-73, 1973-74

	COMPLIANCE 1972-73 AND 1973-74	COMPLIANCE 1972-73, REJECTION 1973-74	
Quiescent Compliers	84.2%	15.8%	100% (N=158)
Protesters	80.9%	19.1%	100% (N=68)

X^2 = .171, n.s.

The dependent variable, therefore, consists of three behavioral dimensions: 1) Quiescent compliance (N = 1,662); 2) Compliance under protest (N = 450); 3) Rejection (N = 1,386). In the analysis chapters that follow, the comparisons for protesters and rejecters are always to quiescent compliers. In the comparison between rejection and quiescence, the sample N for quiescent compliers is weighted. Comparisons between quiescent compliers and protesters are made with the data unweighted.

Chapter IV

THE SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHICS OF RESISTANCE

For many, resistance to desegregation conjures up images of angry mobs of red-necked southern parents, aided and abetted by uniformed bullies and racist politicians. Stereotyped impressions aside, however, there is little information on the social and demographic correlates of individual level resistance to school desegregation. Indeed, recent events suggest that even "southerness" may be more an artifact of the geographical focus of most desegregation efforts, than a condition for resistance. In the present chapter we attempt to answer the question, "Who are the resisters?"

Social Status and Resistance

Numerous studies have found social status to be positively associated with tolerance and liberalism on social issues.[1] This general pattern seems to hold with respect to school desegregation: as social status increases so does attitudinal readiness to accept desegregation.[2] Given the tenuous relationship between attitude and behavior, however, it cannot be assumed that behavioral resistance is confined to the lower classes. In fact several factors suggest that behavioral resistance to desegregation may be positively related to status.

First, rejection is a costly alternative to compliance. Florida has county-wide school districts, and all sixty-seven have desegregated. This set of constraints means that desegregation cannot be escaped easily by residential mobility from one municipality to another, or from one county to another. For the most part, the only practical alternative to a desegregated public school in Florida is a segregated private school, with costly annual tuition payments. Quite apart from attitudes on the issue, then, upper class, higher income individuals have a greater opportunity to choose the rejection alternative than lower class, lower income individuals.

Second, studies of out migration from desegregated residential neighborhoods have shown outward mobility to be rooted in class norms. Higher class families tend to have more favorable attitudes toward neighborhood integration, but move nevertheless for reasons of status concerns and conformity with perceived peer group expectations.[3] The same kind of "classist" phenomenon may exist with respect to withdrawal from desegregated schools. As status increases, so may the concerns of individuals about their "image" to others if they leave their children in schools with lower status blacks, and feelings that maintenance of social respectability requires withdrawal.

Third, numerous studies have established a positive relationship between social class and political and civic participation.[4] Among those who disapprove of the way desegregation was handled, therefore, we would expect, ceteris paribus, higher status individuals to be more likely than lower status individuals to participate in protest activities to express their disapproval.

In short, the relationship between social status and behavioral resistance to desegregation is not obvious. While upper-status persons would appear more attitudinally disposed to accept desegregation than lower status persons, other characteristics of higher status are conducive to behavioral resistance.

To examine thoroughly the relationship of status to resistance, three commonly used indicators of status are employed: (1) income, (2) education and (3) occupation. Income is measured as reported annual family income; education by the highest grade completed by the respondent; and occupation by Duncan's index of occupational prestige.[5] The relationship between these variables and resistance are shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1

RESISTANCE BY SOCIAL STATUS

1a: Annual Family Income

	$0-11,999	$12,000-20,999	$21,000+	
% Protest	17.7	26.4	31.1	X^2=28.577 p=.000
N	(166)	(207)	(69)	Gamma=.247
% Reject	2.5	5.4	12.5	X^2=346.203 p=.000
N	(299)	(603)	(446)	Gamma=.483

1b: Education

	Grades Completed			
	1-7	8-12	13+	
% Protest	13.9	23.1	24.0	X^2=5.648 p=.059
N	(16)	(305)	(113)	Gamma=.087
% Reject	1.8	4.0	8.4	X^2=157.265 p=.000
N	(24)	(737)	(600)	Gamma=.391

1c: Occupational Prestige (Duncan SEI)

	Low	Med	High	
% Protest	18.9	16.0	24.9	X^2=8.275 p=.016
N	(88)	(143)	(203)	Gamma=.092
% Reject	2.7	4.4	6.8	X^2=123.529 p=.000
N	(166)	(308)	(820)	Gamma=.306

While attitudinal studies have shown higher status persons to be more receptive to desegregation, these data suggest otherwise. The liklihood of both rejection and protest increases with social status. Protest is almost twice as likely to occur among high income individuals than among low income individuals; and rejection is about four times as likely for the former group than for the latter. The relationship between status and resistance appears stronger for rejection than for protest. While income, education, and occupation are all positively related to protest, only in the case of income is the relationship of sufficient magnitude to warrant substantive interest. By contrast, each of the status variables shows a moderately strong relationship to rejection.

Income, education and occupation, of course, are highly correlated. The apparently positive relationships between occupation and resistance, and education and resistance, therefore, may be an artifact of the relationship of each to income. For example, respondents who are high on education are disproportionately high on income and therefore have the greater resources needed to afford private schools. Consistent with the attitudinal literature, it may still be the case that within categories of income, those with higher education are less likely to resist desegregation than those with less education. To examine this possibility the relationships between education and resistance, and occupation and resistance controlled by income are presented in Table 2.

TABLE 2

RESISTANCE BY EDUCATION AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS, CONTROLLING FOR INCOME

2a: Income= $11,999 or less

	Education			
Resistance	0-7	8-12	13+	
% Protest	14.1	19.5	17.0	X^2=1.495 p=.474
N	(10)	(131)	(19)	Gamma=.024
% Reject	3.4	2.3	4.3	X^2=20.783 p=.000
N	(10)	(217)	(68)	Gamma=.342

Income= $12,000-20,999

	Education			
	0-7	8-12	13+	
% Protest	9.5	27.3	26.5	X^2=3.262 p=.196
N	(2)	(137)	(56)	Gamma=.040
% Reject	2.6	5.0	6.8	X^2=12.120 p=.002
N	(11)	(361)	(225)	Gamma=.185

Income= $21,000 or more

	Education			
	0-7	8-12	13+	
% Protest	50.0	38.2	26.8	X^2=3.823 p=.148
N	(3)	(9)	(34)	Gamma=-.271
% Reject	6.6	11.1	13.4	X^2=2.175 p=.337
N	(3)	(143)	(295)	Gamma=.118

2b: Income= $11,999 or less

		Duncan		
	Low	Middle	High	
% Protest	15.8	20.5	23.0	X^2=4.420 p=.110
N	(44)	(53)	(55)	Gamma=.153
% Reject	1.8	2.8	2.6	X^2=8.534 p=.014
N	(71)	(99)	(90)	Gamma=.122

Income= $12,000-20,999

		Duncan		
	Low	Middle	High	
% Protest	25.0	32.7	24.7	X^2=4.815 p.090
N	(3)	(72)	(89)	Gamma=-.070
% Reject	3.8	5.4	6.1	X^2=9.719 p=.008
N	(7)	(160)	(345)	Gamma=.131

Income= $21,000 or more

		Duncan		
	Low	Middle	High	
% Protest	43.8	39.1	29.9	X^2=1.876 p=.391
N	(7)	(9)	(50)	Gamma=-.231
% Reject	11.5	9.2	12.9	X^2=1.465 p=.793
N	(23)	(38)	(371)	Gamma=.135

Controlling for income eliminates the effects of education and occupation on protest, but not on rejection. Within each level of income individuals with more education appear more likely to reject than those with less. Likewise, those higher on the Duncan scale appear more likely to reject than those lower. Only among high income respondents are these relationships not statistically significant. The greater resources available to high income parents appears to equalize rejection rates across educational and occupational levels.

On balance, then, the relationship between status and behavioral resistance runs counter to the expectations of the attitudinal literature. While a control for income eliminates the positive relationship between education and protest and occupation and protest, in neither case does the relationship become significantly negative as the attitudinal literature would predict. Furthermore, even with income controlled, both education and occupation generally have a positive relationship to rejection.

Prejudice and Resistance

Many contend that racial prejudice is a major determinant of parental resistance to school desegregation. This view is supported by a lengthy research tradition indicating a relationship between anti-Negro behavior and racial prejudice.[6] However, attempts to examine empirically the relationship between racial prejudice and resistance to school desegregation have been limited. In one such attempt, Tumin found a relationship between racial attitudes and readiness to accept school desegregation. Tumin was predicting from one attitude scale to another, and even then found "variability and inconsistency." However, in light of Tumin's findings and the strength of scholarly (and non-scholarly) opinion, we would expect that the higher our respondents score on a measure of racial prejudice the greater the likelihood of protest/rejection behavior.

While most research has focused on racial prejudice to explain anti-Negro responses, Hubert Blalock has suggested that class prejudice may be at work instead. The concept of class prejudice is based on the assumption implicit in many current theories of status relationships, that persons prefer to interact with others of equal or higher social status.[7] Thus, according to Beshers, status hierarchies tend to be self maintaining through time because the higher ranking groups impose status inequalities upon the lower ranking groups.[8] Status inequalities consist largely of behavioral norms that delimit the scope and content of interaction between the higher and lower classes. Accordingly, "status sensitive" people are likely to be found in higher statuses and are concerned with maximizing the social distance between themselves and those of lower status.[9] The tendency of higher status groups to regulate their social interaction with lower status groups is particularly evident within major institutional settings including the public schools.[10]

School desegregation significantly alters pre-existing limitations on social relations. Because blacks continue to cluster toward the bottom of the status hierarchy, desegregation results not only in an influx of black children into the white child's environment but also an influx of predominantly lower class children into an essentially middle class environment. Consequently, school desegregation jeopardizes the maintenance of status inequalities as it increases opportunities for

social relations between higher and lower status children. Since race and class barriers are eroded by school desegregation, both racial and class prejudice could influence the development of behavioral resistance.

Four items were used to measure racial attitudes:

1. Basically, black people and white people have a lot more in common than most people think.
2. In general, black people have less respect for law and order than white people do.
3. In general, white parents take better care of their children than black parents do.
4. Knowing that a person is black tells you a lot about what to expect from him.

Responses to these items were recorded on a Likert scale of agreement. Non-racist responses were given a score of one, neutral responses a score of two and racist responses a score of three. A racial prejudice score then was computed for each respondent by summing across the items.

The concept of class prejudice embodies the idea of avoiding interaction with lower-status persons. This is analogous to the idea of social distance. Most studies of social distance have provided an ethnic group (e.g., Jew, Armenian, Negro) or an occupation (e.g., doctor, mechanic, plumber) as the object of social distance.[11]

To invoke the image of a lower-status object, respondents were presented with the following brief description of a hypothetical family which included occupational, educational and income elements objectively lower class;

> Mr. Smith is a white janitor at the high school. His wife is a cafeteria worker. They both quit school before the eighth grade. The family's yearly income is six thousand five hundred dollars.

Respondents' social distance from the Smith family was ascertained using Westie's scale of residential social distance.[12] Responses to these items were scored like the racial prejudice items and summed to form a class prejudice scale. Designation of the Smith family as white allows the measurement of class prejudice free of race prejudice.

The relationship between resistance and prejudice is shown in Table 3. As can be seen, the relationship between racial prejudice and rejection is relatively weak. Respondents in the highest category of prejudice are only slightly more likely to reject than those in the lowest category. By contrast, protest shows a stronger relationship to racial prejudice. Respondents in the highest category of racial prejudice are 20 percent more likely to protest than those in the lowest category. Unlike racial prejudice, class prejudice appears to have a moderate relationship to rejection. Those high on class prejudice are about 6 percent more likely to reject than those low on class prejudice. Classism is also positively related to protest with respondents high on class prejudice 17 percent more likely to protest than those low on class prejudice.

TABLE 3

RESISTANCE BY PREJUDICE

3a: Racial Prejudice

	Additive Scores					
	4-5	6-7	8	9-10	11-12	
% Protest	16.2	17.2	24.6	27.4	37.7	X^2=50.473 p=.000
N	(69)	(84)	(114)	(104)	(78)	Gamma=.253
% Reject	4.0	4.6	6.0	5.7	5.9	X^2=15.545 p=.004
N	(268)	(331)	(387)	(273)	(108)	Gamma=.112

3b: Class Prejudice

	Additive Scores			
	5	6-12	13-15	
% Protest	21.3	28.9	38.9	X^2=20.630 p=.000
N	(347)	(74)	(28)	Gamma=.250
% Reject	4.6	6.6	11.1	X^2=78.556 p=.000
N	(1019)	(247)	(107)	Gamma=.256

Recall that social status, especially income, was positively related to both protest and rejection. Logically, status should also be positively related to class prejudice. As one moves up the social hierarchy, class prejudice should increase. As noted previously social status has been found to be negatively related to racial prejudice and other indicators of intolerance. The relationship between class prejudice and resistance, therefore may be an artifact of the relationship of each to status. Similarly, status may have a suppressing effect on the relationship between racial prejudice and resistance.

Controlling the relationships between prejudice and resistance by status, however, did not bear these possibilities out.[13] The relationship between racial prejudice and rejection remained slight when examined within categories of the status variables. The relationship of class prejudice to rejection remained stronger. The results largely were the same for protest. Both racial prejudice and class prejudice showed moderate relationships to this form of resistance despite controls for status. An exception to this pattern was within the high income group. Among these respondents, the relationship appeared curvilinear with respondents scoring in the middle of the classism scale less likely to protest than those at either extreme. Even within this group, however, respondents who scored high on class prejudice were more likely to protest than those scoring low.

Attitude Toward School Integration

Incongruence between attitude and behavior not-with-standing, we would expect negative attitudes toward school integration to be more common among resisters than among non-resisters. Attitudes toward school integration, however, may focus on the general principle of school integration or, alternatively, on the manner in which it is implemented. To ascertain respondents' attitudes toward the inter-racial goals of integration, they were asked to respond to four items.

> "Schools ought to be integrated to help black and white children understand each other better."
>
> "Different races will get along better someday if they go to school together now."
>
> "School integration will help give black children the rights they should have had all along."
>
> "Once you integrate a school it gets too dirty and rundown."

Responses to these items were recorded on a Likert scale of agreement. Pro-integration responses were coded one, neutral responses two and anti-integration responses were coded three. A school integration score for each respondent then was computed by summing across the items.

Attitude toward the manner in which school desegregation was implemented was measured by asking respondents to indicate their approval of the way school desegregation had been handled "around here."

The relationships between attitude toward school integration and protest/rejection are shown in Table 4. As with racial prejudice, the relationship between attitude toward school integration and rejection is weak. Respondents who gave anti-integration responses to three or more questions (11-12) were only slightly more likely to reject than respondents who gave pro-integration responses to three or more questions (4-5). The relationship between attitude toward school integration and protest is stronger. Those giving consistently negative responses to the school integration questions were twice as likely to protest as those giving consistently positive responses. Thus, opposition to the general principle of school desegregation appears to be only slightly related to rejection but somewhat more strongly related to protest.

The results are different with respect to how desegregation is implemented. The likelihood of rejection is considerably stronger among those who disapprove of the handling of desegregation than among those who approve. Furthermore, among those who disapprove, those who disapprove strongly are more likely to reject than those who simply disapprove. Given the definition of the protest variable, all protesters disapprove of the handling of desegregation. But even within this truncated distribution, the likelihood of protest is 14 percent greater for those

TABLE 4

RESISTANCE BY ATTITUDES TOWARD SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

4a: General Attitude

	Additive Scores					
	4-5	6-7	8	9-10	11-12	
% Protest	14.6	15.7	27.3	29.6	35.8	X^2=76.637 p=.000
N	(81)	(74)	(78)	(97)	(112)	Gamma=.315
% Reject	4.0	4.5	6.2	7.0	5.7	X^2=21.871 p=.000
N	(352)	(325)	(215)	(274)	(197)	Gamma=.142

4b: Attitude Toward Implementation

	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Disagree Strongly	
% Protest	-	-	28.4	42.3	X^2=27.136 p=.000
N	-	-	(179)	(271)	Gamma=.299
% Reject	2.5	3.5	5.2	8.2	X^2=179.175 p=.000
N	(158)	(175)	(457)	(582)	Gamma=.329

who disapprove strongly than for those who simply disapprove.

Since attitudinal opposition to school desegregation is frequently considered to be synonymous with racism, it would seem that the relationship of school integration attitudes to resistance might be an artifact of racial prejudice. Controlling for racial prejudice, however, does not effect the relationships revealed in Table 4.[14] Similarly, controlling for the status variables had no effect.[15]

Thus, resistance to school desegregation appears to be related to attitudes toward school desegregation. The likelihood of protest increases with opposition both to the principle of school integration, and to the means of implementation. Rejection shows only a limited relationship to attitude toward the principle of desegregation but is more strongly related to disapproval of the handling of desegregation. These results when combined with those for racism suggest that rejection may be more a response specifically to the way desegregation is implemented than an expression of opposition to desegregation in principle.

Regionalism and Resistance

School desegregation has been treated largely as a southern political problem, one requiring more resolute action in the South than elsewhere. Some of the most recent research on attitudes toward school desegregation continues to support this view. For example, in the latest report from the National Opinion Research Center, Greeley and Sheatsley indicated that while acceptance of the principle of integrated education has increased over the years, southern whites still lag behind non-southern whites in their level of acceptance.[16] Similarly, in a recent analysis of Gallup survey data for the years 1965 and 1970, Knapp and Alston reported that Southerners expressed greater resistance than non-Southerners to school desegregation in both years.[17]

The apparently greater acceptance of school desegregation outside the South seems belied, however, by recent resistance to desegregation efforts in several non-southern areas.

Because of Florida's substantial influx of individuals born and raised outside the state and the South, our data permit an analysis of the effects of regional upbringing on the resistance behavior of white parents.[18] Behavioral comparisons between individuals who have moved to Florida admittedly introduces an element of potential bias into the analysis. Migration to Florida is largely self-selective, and the kind of individuals who move into the state from elsewhere may differ from similarly situated individuals who do not migrate. This possible constraint on the generalizability of these findings should be recognized. On the other hand, a comparison of behavioral reactions to school desegregation between parents in, say, Miami and Boston would be confounded by uncontrollable differences in political environment, desegregation plan features, timing and actions of school officials. A strength of the present study is that the stimulus to action and the context within which behavior occurs are both constant. Respondents in each county were reacting to the same desegregation plan, at the same time, and in the same environment.

Respondents were asked where they lived while growing up. Responses were classified by state and collapsed into southern and non-southern categories.[19] The cross-classification of regional upbringing by resistance is shown in Table 5.

TABLE 5

RESISTANCE BY REGIONAL UPBRINGING

	Region		
	South	Non-South	
% Protest	24.4	20.4	X^2=3.979 p=.046
N	(292)	(156)	Gamma=-.114
% Reject	5.0	5.1	X^2=4.762 p=.029
N	(760)	(604)	Gamma=.013

Are Southerners more likely than non-Southerners to resist desegregation? The data suggest that they are not. Southerners are slightly more likely to protest than non-Southerners but their rejection rates are virtually identical. While there is apparently little simple and direct relationship between regional upbringing and resistance, the effects of the regional variable might be clarified under a control for length of residency. Non-Southerners with longer residency in Florida might be socialized to accept southern norms, whereas more recent non-southern arrivals might not. Therefore, we might expect to observe behavioral differences based on regional upbringing among those who have lived in Florida a shorter period of time, with Southerners being more likely to reject than non-Southerners. A control for length of residency, however, does not have this expected effect.[20] Indeed, among those living in Florida for two years or less, rejection is actually higher among respondents of non-southern origin than of southern origin.

The contrast between these data and the findings of nationwide attitudinal surveys suggest a discrepancy between attitudes and behavior. An alternative explanation is that while N.O.R.C. and Gallup have found Southerners attitudinally less receptive to desegregation than non-Southerners, regionalism is unrelated to attitudes toward desegregation among respondents in the present study. This, however, is not the case. Southerners score significantly higher than non-Southerners on both the racial prejudice and attitude toward school integration scales.[21]

Thus, while nationwide attitude surveys and the attitude component of the present study show Southerners to express greater verbal resistance to school desegregation than non-Southerners, an analysis of behavioral similarities suggest that parental reactions to school desegregation experienced in the South may not be typical of that region alone--a finding that appears to be bearing fruit.

Summary

(1) CONTRARY TO ATTITUDINAL STUDIES, SOCIAL STATUS IS POSITIVELY RELATED TO BEHAVIORAL RESISTANCE TO SCHOOL DESEGREGATION.

   (a) Social status is more strongly related to rejection than to protest.

   (b) Of the status variables, income is most strongly related to rejection but even with income controlled, education and occupation are positively related to rejection.

(2) CLASS PREJUDICE IS RELATED TO BOTH PROTEST AND REJECTION.

   (a) As class prejudice increases, so does resistance.

(3) RACIAL PREJUDICE IS RELATED MORE STRONGLY TO PROTEST THAN REJECTION.

   (a) As racial prejudice increases so does protest.

   (b) The relationship between racial prejudice and rejection is minimal.

(4) ATTITUDE TOWARD THE PRINCIPLE OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IS MODERATELY RELATED TO PROTEST BUT ONLY MINIMALLY RELATED TO REJECTION.

   (a) As disapproval or school desegregation increases so does protest.

(5) ATTITUDE TOWARD THE IMPLEMENTATION OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IS RELATED TO BOTH PROTEST AND REJECTION.

   (a) As disapproval of handling increases, so does resistance.

(6) RESPONDENTS OF NON-SOUTHERN ORIGIN ARE JUST AS LIKELY TO RESIST DESEGREGATION AS RESPONDENTS OF SOUTHERN ORIGIN.

Discussion

The picture of resistance which has emerged from these data differs considerably from popular assumptions and generalizations from attitudinal studies. Indeed, the authors can think of no other area where reliance on attitudinal studies has proven more misleading. The popular conception of the resister as a lower-class, racist, Southerner is approximated by the protesters, but not very closely. First "southerness" does not appear to be a necessary prerequisite of protest. Second, protesters are not particularly lower class. In fact, protest increases somewhat with income. Thirdly, protest is related both to class prejudice and to racial prejudice, indicating that protesters are sensitive to the impacts of desegregation on the class as well as the racial composition of the schools.

Rejection, on the other hand, departs almost entirely from the popular conception. Not only is rejection equiprobable among Southerners and non-Southerners but it increases with status. While rejecters disapprove of the way school desegregation has been handled, they do not appear particularly disposed to disapprove of desegregation in principle or to be racially prejudiced. They are, however, like the protesters, sensitive to the effects of desegregation on the class composition of the school.

In summary, resistance to desegregation--particularly rejection--cannot be blithely dismissed as a phenomenon of the "unenlightened lower class Southerner."

FOOTNOTES

[1] See for example: Hubert M. Blalock, Toward a Theory of Minority Group Relations (New York: John Wiley and Son, 1967); or Seymour M. Lipset, Political Man (New York: Doubleday Company, 1960).

[2] Melvin M. Tumin, Desegregation: Resistance and Readiness (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1958), p. 195.

[3] See for example: Joshua F. Fishman, "Some Social and Psychological Determinants of Intergroup Relations in Changing Neighborhoods: An Introduction to the Bridgeview Study," Social Forces, 40 (October, 1961): pp. 42-51.

[4] Robert E. Lane, Political Life (New York: The Free Press, 1959); and Lester W. Milbrath, Political Participation (Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1965).

[5] Otis D. Duncan, "A Socioeconomic Index for all Occupations," ed., Albert J. Reiss, Occupation and Social Status (New York: Free Press, 1961), Chapter 6 and Appendix B.

[6] Hubert M. Blalock, "Percent Non-White and Discrimination in the South," American Sociological Review, 22 (December, 1957): pp. 677-682. Thomas R. Dye, "Urban School Segregation: A Comparative Analysis," Urban Affairs Quarterly, 2 (December, 1968): pp. 141-163. Edward E. Harris, "Prejudice and Other Social Factors in School Segregation," Journal of Negro Education, 37 (Fall, 1968): pp. 440-443. Thomas F. Pettigrew, and M.R. Cramer, "The Demography of Desegregation," Journal of Social Issues, 15 (Fall, 1959): pp. 61-71. Beth E. Vanfossen, "Variables Related to Resistance to Desegregation in the South," Social Forces, 47 (September, 1968): pp. 39-44. Melvin M. Tumin, Desegregation: Resistance and Readiness (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1958).

[7] James M. Beshers, Urban Social Structure (New York: Free Press, 1962): pp. 128-130. Hubert M. Blalock, Toward a Theory of Minority Group Relations (New York: John Wiley and Son, 1967): pp. 199-200. Edward O. Laumann, Prestige and Association in an Urban Community (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1966): p. 106. Edward O. Laumann, Bonds of Pluralism: The Form and Substance of Urban Social Networks (New York: John Wiley and Son, 1973): pp. 2-8.

[8] James Beshers, Urban Social Structure, p. 128.

[9] Edward O. Laumann, Prestige and Association, p. 106.

[10] James Beshers, Urban Social Structure, Chapter 7.

[11] Frank R. Westie, "Negro-White Differentials and Social Distance," American Sociological Review, 17 (October, 1952): pp. 550-558. Frank R. Westie, "A Technique for the Measurement of Race Attitudes," American Sociological Review, 18 (February, 1953): pp. 73-78. F.R. Westie and Margaret L. Westie, "The Social Distance Pyramid: Relations between Caste and Class," American Journal of Sociology, 63 (September, 1957): pp. 190-196.

[12] F.R. Westie, "A Technique for the Measurement of Race Attitudes," pp. 73-78.

[13] See Appendix A, Tables 2-7.

[14] See Appendix A, Tables 9-10.

[15] See Appendix A, Tables 11-16.

[16] Andrew M. Greeley and Paul B. Sheatsley, "Attitudes Toward Racial Integration," Scientific American, 225 (December, 1971): pp. 13-19.

[17] Melvin J. Knapp and Jon P. Alson, "White Parental Acceptance of Varying Degrees of School Desegregation: 1965 and 1970," Public Opinion Quarterly, 36 (Winter, 1972-1973): pp. 585-591.

[18] According to the 1970 Census, only 32 percent of all whites living in the state were native Floridians. U.S. Bureau of Census, 1970 Census of Population, "General Social and Economic Characteristics," (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972).

[19] States classified as "southern" were: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. All other states were classified as "non-southern".

[20] See Appendix A, Table 17.

[21] See Appendix A, Tables 18 and 19.

Chapter V

DESEGREGATION PLANS AND RESISTANCE

Desegregation plans vary from district to district with the demands of the enforcement agency, and with the realities of school locations and residential patterns. In some districts considerable busing will be necessary to achieve satisfactory racial balances, in others it will not. In some districts only a few schools may be effected by desegregation, in others the entire system may be involved. The impact of a desegregation plan will also vary among persons within a school district. Some will be bused and some will not. Of those scheduled for busing, the distance of the trip may vary substantially. Similarly, wide variations may occur in the racial balances of the schools. The cost imposed by a desegregation plan, therefore, varies, and we would expect resistance to desegregation to be most likely among those families for whom the costs of the plan are the highest.

The impact of a plan feature and its perceived cost may be influenced by previous experience. For example, parents of children who have been bused in the past may not find the bus ride to a desegregated school disconcerting. In contrast, for those faced with busing for the first time the perceived inconvenience and cost of this plan feature may be magnified. In brief, when the desegregation plan requires a change in the behavior or experience of a respondent, the cost of uncertainty is added to the cost normally attributed to the plan feature involved.

In this chapter the effects of several desegregation plan variables on resistance are examined. The straight-forward effects of the variables are initially examined and then the element of previous experience with the variables is introduced.

Busing

Prior to desegregation, busing was widespread and not particularly controversial. In 1954, the year of the first *Brown* decision, 8.4 million students, 33 percent of all U.S. school children, rode a school bus.[1] While busing has been necessary to achieve desegregation, its use for this purpose has not drastically increased the over-all use of busing. In 1970, 43.5 percent of all U.S. school children were bused to and from school, but only about four percent specifically for desegregation increased the number of students transported, but they represented "a very small proportion of the total number transported."[3]

Despite these facts, busing has been the most controversial issue associated with school desegregation. A recent Gallup Poll showed that a majority of Americans expressed verbal approval of school desegregation, but that only five percent chose busing from a list of plans to achieve it.[4] In a recent national survey conducted for the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 73 percent of the white respondents said they opposed busing for school desegregation, and 58 percent said they favored a legislative prohibition against it.[5]

Is the experience of busing actually related to resistance to school desegregation? To answer this question, compliers were asked how their children got to school in 1972-73, and rejecters were asked how their children would have gotten to their assigned public school that same year.

Responses to these questions, cross-classified by resistance, are shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1

RESISTANCE TO BUSING

	Bused in 72-73	Not Bused in 72-73	
% Protest	26.5	20.5	X^2=8.814 p=.003
N	(250)	(177)	Gamma=-.167
% Reject	5.7	4.3	X^2=5.432 p=.020
N	(722)	(597)	Gamma=-.143

While the relationship between busing and resistance is in the expected direction, it is not particularly strong. Those bused are only slightly more likely to reject than those not bused. While the effect of busing on protest appears somewhat greater, the over-all effect of busing on resistance is miniscule in light of the controversy surrounding its use.

TABLE 2

BUSING BY RESISTANCE BY BUSING LAST YEAR

2a: Bused in 71-72

	72-73		
	Bused	Not Bused	
% Protest	23.8	15.3	X^2=2.232 p=.135
N	(160)	(11)	Gamma=-.269
% Reject	4.6	6.1	X^2=3.785 p=.052
N	(407)	(71)	Gamma=.143

The effects of busing on resistance are clarified when controlled by previous experience with busing. Among respondents who indicated that their child was bused to school in 1971-72, additional busing in 1972-73 does not appear to produce increased resistance (Table 2a).

2b: Not Bused in 71-72

	72-73		
	Bused	Not Bused	
% Protest	33.1	20.9	X^2=15.426 p=.000
N	(87)	(161)	Gamma=-.305
% Reject	8.1	4.0	X^2=48.514 p=.000
N	(314)	(501)	Gamma=-.353

Among these respondents, those experiencing busing again in 72-73 are not significantly more likely to protest than those not bused. For rejection, a significant difference exists but not in the anticipated direction. Respondents not bused in 72-73, after being bused in 71-72, are more likely to reject than those bused both years. The pattern is quite different for respondents not bused in 1971-72 (Table 2b). Here the onset of busing in 72-73 increases the probability of both protest and rejection significantly. Indeed, the liklihood of rejection doubled by busing under this condition.

The uncertainty of the new experience of busing seems to increase the cost of this plan feature. While busing per se shows only a small relationship to resistance, the onset of busing is more strongly related. Indeed, the levels of resistance for those bused in both 1971-72 and 72-73 barely exceed those for respondents not bused in either year, and do not come close to the resistance levels for respondents not bused in 71-72 but bused in 72-73. From a policy viewpoint this result suggests that after the initial impact of busing, the influence on resistance, particularly rejection, diminishes considerably.

Distance

A companion issue to busing has been the distances involved in desegregation plans. It is a fact that considerable distances are frequently involved in desegregation that has necessitated the use of buses. To examine the relationship between the distance to be traveled and resistance, the respondents were asked how far in miles it was to their children's assigned public school. Their responses, cross-classified by resistance, are arrayed in Table 3.

TABLE 3

RESISTANCE BY DISTANCE TO SCHOOL

Distance in 72-73

	0-3	4-12	over 12	
% Protest	21.0	26.0	34.3	X^2=14.813 p=.000
N	(229)	(149)	(49)	Gamma=.181
% Reject	3.7	4.6	8.6	X^2=33.045 p=.000
N	(618)	(361)	(150)	Gamma=.211

Distance traveled appears to be associated moderately with resistance. Respondents whose children's assigned school in 72-73 was less than three miles away are 13 percent less likely to protest and 5 percent less likely to reject than those whose children's assigned school was more than 12 miles away. A distance to school of from 4 to 12 miles invoked more resistance than a lesser distance but not nearly so great as a distance of more than 12 miles. Within the broad 4-12 mile category increasing distance is associated with small increases in protest but the pattern for rejection is somewhat inconsistent.[6]

TABLE 4

RESISTANCE BY DISTANCE 1972-73 BY DISTANCE IN 1971-72

4a: Distance in 71-72 = 0-3 miles

Distance in 72-73

	0-3	4-12	over 12	
% Protest	20.7	33.6	43.6	X^2=33.916 p=.000
N	(210)	(77)	(34)	Gamma=.360
% Reject	3.3	5.7	12.6	X^2=75.942 p=.000
N	(524)	(184)	(113)	Gamma=.390

4b: Distance in 71-72 = 4-12 miles

Distance in 72-73

	0-3	4-12	over 12	
% Protest	27.3	21.0	38.5	X^2=4.717 p=.095
N	(12)	(70)	(10)	Gamma=.075
% Reject	8.6	3.8	6.8	X^2=21.907 p=.000
N	(60)	(171)	(19)	Gamma=-.220

4c: Distance in 71-72 = over 12 miles

Distance in 72-73

	0-3	4-12	over 12	
% Protest	0.0	20.0	12.8	X^2=0.832 p=.659
N	(0)	(1)	(5)	Gamma=.128
% Reject	12.7	8.0	3.1	X^2=8.914 p=.012
N	(12)	(6)	(18)	Gamma=-.541

The effects of distance in 72-73 on resistance are somewhat confused when controlled by distance traveled in 71-72. These data are shown in Table 4. Among respondents traveling 3 miles or less in 71-72 (4a), the effects of the distance traveled in 72-73 on resistance are enhanced. Within this group, respondents traveling more than 12 miles in 72-73 are 23 percent more likely to protest and 9 percent more likely to reject than those traveling 3 miles or less. However, among respondents traveling 4 or more miles in 71-72 (4b & 4c), the relationship of distance to resistance is curvilinear or negative. This phenomenon appears consistent with the cost of change concept. A survey of each of the sub-tables finds the lowest levels of resistance among those respondents experiencing the same distance in both 71-72 and 72-73. In Table 4a those traveling 3 or less miles have the lowest levels of protest and rejection. In Table 4b those traveling between 4 and 12 miles, and in Table 4c those traveling more than 12 miles, have the lowest levels of resistance. Indeed, when no change in distance occurs between 71-72 and 72-73, the distance to be traveled in 72-73 appears unrelated to resistance. Under this condition, rejection varies only between 3.1 and 3.8 percent for the three distance categories. Thus, distance traveled only appears to be related to resistance where an increase over previous experience occurs.

TABLE 5

RESISTANCE AND DISTANCE INCREASE

	Distance in 72-73 Same or Less Than in 71-72	Distance in 72-73 Greater Than in 71-72 and		
		Distance in 72-73=4-12	Distance in 72-73=over 12	
% Protest	20.7	33.6	42.3	X^2=41.339 p=.000
N	(298)	(77)	(44)	Gamma=.363
% Reject	3.6	5.7	11.2	X^2=69.830 p=.000
N	(791)	(184)	(132	Gamma=.345

The data are presented in this form in Table 5. While changing from a higher distance to a lower distance in Table 4 appeared to generate increased resistance, the number of respondents experiencing such a change are small and are collapsed in Table 5 with those experiencing no change. Little information appears to be lost in this reconceptualization. While the data from all three sub-tables of Table 4 are included in Table 5 the relationships between distance and resistance are of equal strength to those found in Table 4a.

Given the close logical relationship between the use of buses and distances traveled, we might expect the effect of distance increase to be confounded with that of the onset of busing. Controlling distance increase for bus change does reduce but does not eliminate the effect of distance increase.[7] Thus, distance traveled to the assigned school does influence resistance but not in a simple, straightforward manner. Distance is an influence on resistance only when it is increased from one year to the next.

Percent Black

Several aggregate level studies have found the percent black variable to affect strongly the pace of desegregation. There is also evidence to suggest that percent black affects resistance at the individual level. Attitude research has found that verbal opposition to desegregation increases with hypothetically higher black ratios in the schools.[8] Further, a study of private school growth in Alabama showed that white withdrawals from the public schools varied directly with percent black, ranging from a low of only about one percent when blacks were 25 percent or less of the student population, to a high of 54 percent when blacks constituted 75 percent or more of the student population.[9]

Whereas the aggregate studies focused mostly on the black ratio in the county population, we focus on percent black in the schools. Population percent black apparently affects a school district's willingness to desegregate, but the black ratio in the schools should be related more proximately to the willingness of white parents to resist. Information on the actual black ratios in the public schools attended by our respondents' children in both 1971-72 and 1972-73 was obtained from official school records. The relationship between percent black in the assigned school in 1972-73 and resistance is shown in Table 6.

Much of the discussion of school resegregation has focused on the question of whether a point exists in the ratio of blacks-to-whites in desegregated public schools beyond which the rate of white withdrawal

TABLE 6

PERCENT BLACK AND RESISTANCE

	0-9	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50 +	
% Protest	16.3	20.6	21.3	26.0	33.8	31.0	X^2=31.353 p=.000
N	(43)	(96)	(91)	(63)	(95)	(31)	Gamma=.048
% Reject	2.9	3.3	3.1	9.9	8.4	10.3	X^2=146.542 p=.000
N	(125)	(247)	(215)	(333)	(256)	(139)	Gamma=.536

accelerates dramatically, and the schools eventually become all or nearly all black. The idea of such a racial tipping-point comes from a study of the Chicago Housing Authority, in which Meyerson and Banfield found that if "there were more than about one-third Negroes in an otherwise white project, the whites would leave until the project eventually became almost all Negro."[10] In similar fashion, a tipping-point theory has been advanced to explain the process whereby some desegregated schools eventually become all black or nearly so. Thus, in a study of 15 selected northern cities, the United States Commission on Civil Rights found, in several instances, that "once the school became almost half or majority-Negro, it rapidly became nearly all-Negro."[11] Analyzing desegregation in the Washington, D.C. public schools, Carl Hansen, the former school superintendent, claimed that "the racial composition of a school shifts from white to black within five years after the 30 percent point is reached (tending) after that to reach 99 percent in a very short time."[12]

The data in Table 6 are consistent with Hansen's findings of a threshold for rejection in the vicinity of 30 percent black. Respondents whose children were assigned to schools less than 30 percent black reject at a rate of approximately 3 percent. Those in schools 30 percent or more black reject at a rate of more than 9 percent. While a threshold appears present, there does not appear to be a significant increase in the rejection rate with increases in percent black beyond the threshold. In fact, the rejection rate for respondents in the 30-39 percent black category is nearly the same as for those in the 50 percent plus category.

Percent black is also related to protest. This relationship, however, does not parallel that for rejection. While 30 percent black again appears to serve as a threshold, protest does increase somewhat with higher black ratios.

Controlling the relationship between the black ratio in 1972-73 and resistance by the black ratio in 1971-72 yields interesting results. These data are arrayed in Table 7. The effect of this control is consistent with our preceding discussions of busing and distance. Change of any type adds cost, but especially when the change embodies more demanding desegregation conditions. This effect is clearest for protest. Among respondents whose children were in schools 29 percent or less black in 1971-72 (7a), those whose children were assigned to attend schools 30 percent or more black in 1972-73 were over 20 percent more likely to protest than those whose children remained in schools 29 percent or less black. By contrast, among respondents already attending schools 30 percent or more black in 1971-72 (7b), those assigned to similar schools in 1972-73 were actually less likely to protest than those assigned to schools 29 percent black or less. This difference, however, was not statistically significant.

The case for rejection is somewhat more complex. Among respondents in schools 29 percent or less black in 71-72, percent black in the assigned school in 72-73 shows a fairly strong relationship to rejection. Those whose children were assigned to schools 30 percent or more black in 72-73 were approximately 11 percent more likely to reject than those assigned to a school 29 percent or less black. Respondents whose children attended a school 30 percent or more black in 71-72 were more likely to reject if assigned to a similar school in 72-73 than if assigned to a school 29 percent black or less. While assignment to a school 30 percent or more black in both years does appear to increase rejection, it has far less effect than crossing the threshold from a school less than 30 percent black to one more than 30 percent black.

TABLE 7

RESISTANCE BY % BLACK IN 1972-73 BY % BLACK IN 1971-72

7a: % Black in 1971-72 = 0-29

% Black 1972-73

	0-29	≥30	
% Protest	18.9	40.1	X^2=44.962 p=.000
N	(185)	(89)	Gamma=.483
% Reject	2.8	13.4	X^2=179.665 p=.000
N	(436)	(338)	Gamma=.689

7b: % Black in 1971-72 ≥30

% Black 1972-73

	0-29	≥30	
% Protest	28.9	22.8	X^2=1.577 p=.209
N	(37)	(76)	Gamma=-.160
% Reject	2.2	5.5	X^2=8.633 p=.003
N	(48)	(248)	Gamma=.448

By and large, then, the effect of percent black on resistance appears attributable to respondents who have crossed the threshold from a school less than 30 percent black to one 30 percent black or more.

Characteristics of School Location

Percent Black

White parental reactions to desegregation frequently are couched in terms not only of busing and distance, but also in terms of the area into which their child is being sent. Implicitly, at least, the most salient area characteristic is racial composition. Belief in white sensitivity to this aspect of desegregation has led many school districts to attempt to use one-way busing. Under such plans desegregation is achieved by moving black students into schools located in white residential areas without a reciprocal flow of white students into black neighborhoods. Such plans, of course, place a disproportionate burden on black students and for this reason have run into legal difficulties.

Area is an ambiguous concept and amenable to varied definitions. In the present study, percent black in the census tract in which the school is located and all contiguous tracts are used as the indicators of the black concentration in the area surrounding the school. Other measures might be equally appropriate (e.g. percent black in the block in which the school is located and all contiguous blocks), but this operationalization appears satisfactory for our purposes. The relationship between the black concentration in the school area and resistance is shown in Table 8. For ease of presentation and comparability with our previous discussion of percent black in the schools, the data are collapsed into above and below 30 percent black. This dichotomization does not appear to result in a loss of information or mis-portray the relationships.[13]

As expected percent black in the neighborhood of the 1972-73 assigned school is related to resistance. Respondents with children assigned to

TABLE 8

RESISTANCE BY PERCENT BLACK IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD

% Black 72-73

	0-29	≥30	
% Protest	23.3	36.7	X^2=23.245 p=.000
N	(237)	(128)	Gamma=.313
% Reject	4.6	8.2	X^2=55.236 p = .000
N	(745)	(433)	Gamma=.301

schools situated in neighborhoods more than 29 percent black are approximately 13 percent more likely to protest and 4 percent more likely to reject than those with children in schools located in areas with black concentrations of 29 percent or less.

The relationship between protest and percent black in the area in 72-73 appears largely unaffected when controlled by the black concentration in the area of the 71-72 school year (Table 9). While the relationship between percent black and protest in 9b is not statistically significant, this appears to be a matter of small sample size; the magnitude of the relationship is the same as found in 9a.

TABLE 9

RESISTANCE BY PERCENT BLACK IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD IN 1972-73 BY PERCENT BLACK IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD IN 1971-72

9a: Percent Black in 71-72 = 0-29

% Black in 72-73

	0-29	≥30	
% Protest	23.4	39.3	X^2=21.647 p=.000
N	(216)	(83)	Gamma=.359
% Reject	4.4	10.3	X^2=77.458 p=.000
N	(661)	(331)	Gamma=.422

9b: Percent Black in 71-72 ≥30

	% Black in 72-73		
	0-29	≥30	
% Protest	18.8	32.2	X^2=2.472 p=.116
N	(9)	(40)	Gamma=.347
% Reject	2.9	4.6	X^2=4.666 p=.031
N	(19)	(85)	Gamma=.232

The case for rejection differs. Respondents with children assigned to schools in areas 30 percent black or above in 72-73 are more likely to reject than those assigned to schools in areas 29 percent black or less, irrespective of the experience in the previous year (71-72). However, rejection appears far more likely when respondents have experienced movement from an area 29 percent or less black in 71-72 to one 30 percent or more black in 72-73. These respondents are over 6 percent more likely to reject than respondents with children who have remained in areas 29 percent or less black in both years, and they are 6 percent more likely to reject than those in areas 30 percent black or more in both years. Apparently, the uncertainty of this change to schools in areas of higher black concentrations enhances the probability of rejection.

Schools in areas of high black concentration frequently have higher black student ratios despite the use of busing. The relative effects of percent black in the neighborhood and percent black in the school will be examined in the next chapter.

Other Neighborhood Characteristics

In addition to racial composition, white parents might be sensitive to other neighborhood features. Two such characteristics are the condition of the buildings in the area surrounding the school and the residential/

commercial mix. We would expect resistance to be a negative function of the attractiveness of the school location and resistance therefore to be less likely when a school was located in a residential neighborhood with buildings in well-kept condition. The residential/commercial mix of the area and building condition were ascertained by means of a questionnaire to local officials. The relations between these factors and resistance are shown in Tables 10 and 11.

TABLE 10

RESISTANCE AND PERCEIVED CONDITION OF BUILDING IN SCHOOL AREA

	Well-kept	Neither	Rundown	
% Protest	21.0	25.2	23.6	X^2=3.626 p=.163
N	(144)	(180)	(58)	Gamma=.076
% Reject	4.9	5.1	4.1	X^2=1.162 p=.446
N	(526)	(462)	(176)	Gamma=-.041

TABLE 11

RESISTANCE AND TYPE OF AREA

	Residential	Commercial	Mixed	
% Protest	23.9	27.3	23.8	X^2=.528 p=.760
N	(208)	(4)	(149)	Gamma=-.000
% Reject	5.5	4.6	4.2	X^2=23.459 p=.000
N	(765)	(56)	(363)	Gamma=-.135

The data suggest that neither of these factors influences resistance to desegregation. The condition of the buildings in the neighborhood is not significantly related to either protest or rejection. Similarly the residential/commercial mix of the area is not significantly related to resistance.

Characteristics of the School

We have already discussed one school characteristic, the racial composition of the student body. Besides this important variable, many school officials have assumed that the attractiveness of the school physical plant also influences resistance. Indeed, a paint-up, fix-up campaign for formerly black schools is frequently a component of desegregation planning. The condition of the school buildings was ascertained by a questionnaire to school officials. Perhaps as a result of the fix-up campaigns or the natural biases of school officials few schools were rated as not being in good condition. What little variance did occur in this variable was not associated with resistance.[14]

Another school characteristic that has received considerable attention has been the status of the school before desegregation. Fearing that whites will evaluate previously segregated black schools as second class, some school districts have gone so far as to change the school names. The previous status of the schools was also determined by questionnaire to school officials. The relationship between previous status and resistance is shown in Table 12. Some schools are relatively new and therefore have always been integrated. These schools are collapsed with schools identified as white.

Previous status of the school does appear to be related to resistance. Respondents with children assigned to schools previously all-black are approximately 8 percent more likely to protest and 5 percent more likely to reject than respondents with children in schools either always integrated or previously all-white. Despite desegregation, it is frequently the case that because of their location previously all-black schools still have higher black concentrations. The apparent relationship

TABLE 12

RESISTANCE BY STATUS OF SCHOOL PRIOR TO DESEGREGATION

	White or Integrated	Black	
% Protest	22.5	31.0	X^2=9.261 p=.002
N	(313)	(92)	Gamma=.215
% Reject	4.2	9.8	X^2=57.640 p=.000
N	(919)	(366)	Gamma=.426

between the previous status of the school and resistance may be explained therefore in terms of this variable.

The data in Table 13 suggest that this is partially the case. When controlled for percent black enrollment (72-73) the previous status of the school is unrelated to protest. Previous status is also unrelated to rejection when the black enrollment is 29 percent or less. When the black enrollment is 30 percent or more, however, the relationship between previous status and rejection is statistically significant.

TABLE 13

RESISTANCE BY STATUS OF SCHOOL BY PERCENT BLACK IN 72-73

13a: Percent Black = 0-29:

	Integrated or White	Black	
% Protest	20.0	19.3	X^2=.001 p=.973
N	(208)	(11)	Gamma=-.023
% Reject	3.1	4.2	X^2=.035 p=.852
N	(537)	(32)	Gamma=.160

13b: Percent Black $\geq$ 30:

	Integrated or White	Black	
% Protest	29.7	33.7	X^2=.930 p=.335
N	(105)	(81)	Gamma=.094
% Reject	8.6	11.3	X^2=6.113 p=.013
N	(380)	(324)	Gamma=.151

The nature of this relationship is further elucidated by a control for percent black change in Table 14. The previous status of the school is only related to rejection where a respondent's child is moved from a school 29 percent or less black to a school 30 percent or more black. Under this condition, respondents assigned to previously all black schools are 7 percent more likely to reject than those in integrated or previously all white schools. Thus, the previous status of the school generally is unrelated to rejection. Only when combined with the uncertainty of increasing black enrollment does the fact that a school was previously a black school appear to enter the rejection decision.

TABLE 14

REJECTION BY STATUS OF SCHOOL PRIOR TO DESEGREGATION BY PERCENT BLACK

% Black		Integrated/All-White	All-Black	
29% or less in 71-72 and 72-73	% Reject	2.8	2.6	X^2=.975 p=.324
	N	(411)	(16)	Gamma=-.033
30% or more in 71-72 and 72-73	% Reject	5.5	5.9	X^2=.589 p=.443
	N	(149)	(90)	Gamma=.045
29% or less in 71-72 but 30% or more in 72-73	% Reject	10.5	17.6	X^2=4.704 p=.030
	N	(124)	(211)	Gamma=.389

Summary

(1) THE ONSET OF BUSING INCREASES THE PROBABILITY OF RESISTANCE.

(2) AN INCREASE IN DISTANCE TRAVELED TO SCHOOL INCREASES THE PROBABILITY OF RESISTANCE.

(3) PERCENT BLACK IN THE SCHOOL IS ASSOCIATED WITH RESISTANCE.

  (a) An increase in the percent black in the school from 29 percent or less to 30 percent or more increases the probability of protest.

  (b) Respondents whose children are in schools 30 percent or more black are more likely to reject than those in schools 29 percent black or less.

  (c) Among respondents whose children are enrolled in schools 30 percent or more black, those whose children were in schools 29 percent black or less the previous year are more likely to reject.

(4) PERCENT BLACK IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD IS ASSOCIATED WITH RESISTANCE.

  (a) Respondents with children assigned to schools in neighborhoods 30 percent or more black are more likely to protest than those with children assigned to schools in neighborhoods 29 percent or less black.

  (b) Respondents whose children are assigned to schools in areas 30 percent or more black are more likely to reject than those in schools located in neighborhoods 29 percent black or less.

  (c) Among respondents whose children are enrolled in schools in neighborhoods 30 percent or more black, those whose children were enrolled in schools located in neighborhoods 29 percent or less black the previous year are more likely to reject.

(5) RESPONDENTS WHOSE CHILDREN EXPERIENCED AN INCREASE IN PERCENT BLACK ENROLLMENT FROM 29 PERCENT OR LESS BLACK TO 30 PERCENT OR MORE BLACK ARE MORE LIKELY TO REJECT IF THEIR ASSIGNED SCHOOL WAS PREVIOUSLY ALL BLACK.

Discussion

The present chapter suggests that, at least to some extent, resistance may be understood as a reaction to the way in which desegregation is implemented. More specifically, resistance appears to reflect the costs which the desegregation plan imposes upon individual parents. Parents whose children experience the onset of busing, increasing distance traveled to school and/or higher black racial balances are more likely to resist than those whose children don't experience these conditions. Thus, it would appear that desegregation planners can influence the levels of resistance in a school district by altering insofar as possible the numbers of parents whose children experience these conditions.

The present chapter has left many questions unanswered. Which, for example, is most important, the percent black in the school or the present black in the neighborhood? Examining this and similar questions with contingency tables is tedious and complex. Such questions have therefore been left for examination using multivariate techniques, in the next chapter.

FOOTNOTES

[1] U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Your Child and Busing* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1972).

[2] Ibid., p. 7.

[3] Eldridge J. Gendron, "Busing in Florida: Before and After," *Integrated Education*, Vol. X (March-April, 1972): pp. 3-7.

[4] *Gallop Poll*, 100th Issue, p. 18.

[5] Marvin Wall, "What the Public Doesn't Know," pp. 23-27.

[6] See Appendix *A*, Table 20.

[7] See Appendix *A*, Table 21.

[8] Hubert Blalock, *Toward a Theory of Minority Group Relations*, pp. 143-189.

[9] John C. Walden and Allen D. Cleveland, "The South's New Segregation Academies," *Phi Delta Kappan* (December, 1971): pp. 234-239.

[10] Martin Meyerson and Edward C. Banfield, *Politics, Planning and Public Interest* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1955), p. 135.

[11] U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Racial Isolation in the Public Schools* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 10.

[12] Carl Hansen, *Danger in Washington* (West Nyack, New York: Parker Publishing Co., 1968), p. 68.

[13] See Appendix *A*, Table 22.

[14] See Appendix *A*, Table 23.

Chapter VI

AN EXAMINATION OF THE CAUSES OF RESISTANCE

Introduction

The present chapter adopts a multiple regression approach to the data. In chapters IV and V, controlled contingency tables were used to examine the effects of one independent variable on resistance with the effects of other variables held constant. As the number of control variables increases, this process becomes increasingly cumbersome, and the results can be difficult to interpret. The regression approach, by contrast, provides a single estimate of the relative effect of each independent variable with every other independent variable held constant.

A second advantage of the regression approach is its ability to deal with interactions among independent variables. Interaction is present when the effect of an independent variable on the dependent variable varies by categories of a third variable. We have already seen that the effects of some plan features are conditioned by respondents' previous experiences. For example, once busing is experienced, continued busing does not appear to evoke protest. Hypotheses about simple interaction can be examined using contingency tables, but complex interactions are more amenable to a regression approach.

Conventional linear regression assumes homscedasticity and interval level measurement, assumptions clearly not met by all the data for this study. To avoid these problems we have adopted the approach suggested by

Grizzle, Starmer, and Koch (GSK).[1] GSK consists of the application of weighted least squares multiple regression to cell frequencies in complex contingency tables. In practical terms, one first constructs an N-way cross-classification table. The resulting cell entries become the dependent variable in a regression analysis. Using this approach we are not attempting to predict whether an individual respondent will resist, but rather, the conditional probability of resistance for a group whose members are experiencing certain conditions (e.g. what is the probability of protest among respondents who are high on income, high on racism, high on classism, etc.). As in dummy regression, the regression coefficients in the GSK approach are computed by means of a design matrix of contrasts. The interpretation of the regression coefficients, therefore, depends on the coding system adopted for the contrasts. In the present study, dichotomous variables are scored "1" when high and "-1" when low. Using this coding system, the regression coefficients are interpreted as 1/2 the increased probability of resistance resulting from experiencing the high category of an independent variable (e.g. the onset of busing) as opposed to the low category (e.g. no change in busing) with the effects of the other independent variables held constant.

In conventional multiple regression the residual is the difference between the actual (y) and the predicted ($\hat{y}$) scores for individuals on the dependent variable. Since the dependent variable in the GSK approach is the cell frequencies, the residual is the difference between observed (o) and expected (e) cell frequencies. The fit of a model (a combination of main effects or main plus interaction effects) using the GSK approach, therefore, can be examined by means of Chi^2, which is a common test of the statistical significance of the difference in observed and expected frequencies in contingency tables. Similarly, the significance of a single variable or interaction effect may be determined by examining the reduction in Chi^2 attributed uniquely to it.

The analysis plan for this chapter is to begin by fitting a regression model containing only the main effects of the independent variables. If this model does not satisfactorily fit the data (i.e. the Chi^2 for the model is significant) then a model including main effects plus first order interactions is fitted. In short, increasingly complex models will be fitted until a model which satisfactorily predicts the actual frequencies in the contingency table is obtained. Then the individual regression coefficients for the independent variables will be examined.

Ideally, we would include all the variables considered in the previous two chapters in one analysis. However, since GSK begins with a complex contingency table, small cell sizes pose a problem. Even with the large sample size of the present study, a cross-classification table employing all the variables considered to this point results in numerous zero cell entries. Accordingly, we will begin by examining the socio-demographic and plan feature variables separately. These analyses will provide a basis for selecting variables to be included in a final analysis combining both types of variables.

Socio-Demographic Variables

Five socio-demographic variables are included in this multivariate analysis: income, race prejudice, class prejudice, attitude toward school integration and regional upbringing.

With GSK, the regression coefficients are most easily interpreted when the dependent and the independent variables are dichotomized. This also helps to avoid small cell sizes. A review of the bivariate relationships between the socio-demographic variables and resistance suggests the following breakdowns for the independent variables.

Income	0-$11,999 52.5%	$12,000+ 47.5%
Race Prejudice	4-7 45.7%	8-12 54.3%
Class Prejudice	5 79.3%	6-15 20.7%
School Integration	4-7 51.6%	8-12 48.4%
Region	South 57.7%	Non-South 42.3%

Protest

A model containing only the main effects of the independent variables did not provide an adequate fit to the data (Chi^2 residual = 46.5, significant at .01). This result suggests that significant interactions are present in the data. Accordingly, we proceeded to fit a model including the main effects and first order interactions. This model produced a statistically satisfactory fit, and two of the interaction terms--race prejudice with region and class prejudice with region--were statistically significant. The regression coefficients for a model containing these two first-order interactions and the main effects are presented in Table 1.

It should be noted that with the exception of class prejudice, each of the elements of this model is statistically significant. This means that their omission from the model would result in a statistically significant increase in the residual Chi^2. As indicated, the regression

TABLE 1

G.S.K. EFFECT PARAMETERS (B) FOR SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES ON PROTEST

Effect	B
Mean	.236
Race Prejudice	.026**
Class Prejudice	.016(ns)
School Integration	.070***
Region	-.037**
Income	.040***
Region X Race Prejudice	-.023*
Region X Class Prejudice	-.028*

*Significant at .05
**Significant at .01
***Significant at .001

coefficients are directly interpretable as 1/2 the average difference in the probability of protest. For example, persons scoring high on the anti-school integration index are 14 percent (2 X .070) more likely to protest than persons scoring low on this index, with the effects of the other independent variables held constant. Similarly, those having high incomes are 8 percent (2 X .04) more likely to protest than persons low on income. The interpretations for race prejudice, class prejudice and region are somewhat more difficult because of the presence of interaction.

The presence of interaction indicates that the effects of race prejudice and class prejudice on protest varies by region. This relationship may be seen more clearly in Table 2.

TABLE 2

G.S.K. EFFECTS PARAMETERS (B) FOR SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES ON PROTEST WITH RACIAL AND CLASS PREJUDICE STRATIFIED BY REGION

Effect	(B)
Mean	.236
School Integration	.070***
Income	.040***
Region	-.037**
South	
Race Prejudice	.049***
Class Prejudice	.044**
Non-South	
Race Prejudice	.004 (ns)
Class Prejudice	-.012 (ns)

In this model, the effects of race prejudice and class prejudice on protest have been stratified by region. As presented in Table 2, the nature of the interaction between race prejudice and region and class prejudice and region becomes clear. Both of these attitudinal variables are only operative among southern respondents. Thus, Southerners who are racially prejudiced are 9.8 percent more likely to protest than are non-racist Southerners; and Southerners who are classists are 8.8 percent more likely to protest than non-classist Southerners. Since protest is 7.4 percent more probable among Southerners than among non-Southerners, Southern racists are 17.2 percent (9.8 + 7.4) more likely to protest than non-Southerners, and southern classists are 16.2 percent (8.8 + 7.4) more likely to protest than non-Southerners.

Rejection

Fitting a main effects model for the five socio-demographic variables yields an adequate fit and the regression coefficients for this model are shown in Table 3.

TABLE 3

G.S.K. EFFECT PARAMETERS FOR
SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES ON REJECTION

Effect	B
Mean	.052
Race Prejudice	.004**
Class Prejudice	.007***
School Integration	.008***
Region	.000(ns)
Income	.021***

With the exception of region, each of the variables is significantly related to rejection. The most important variable, by far, is income. Respondents high on income are 4.2 percent more likely to reject than those low on income with the effects of the other independent variables held constant. While this effect may not seem great, in a school district of 80,000 students--Palm Beach, for example--this would mean the loss of 3,360 students. This is the equivalent of closing a large high school. The effects of the remaining variables are considerably smaller. Respondents high on the anti-school integration scale are 1.6 percent more likely to reject than those low on the scale. Persons high on class prejudice are 1.4 percent more likely to reject than those low on class prejudice. The smallest significant effect is that of racial prejudice.

Respondents high on racial prejudice are 0.8 percent more likely to reject than those low on racial prejudice. In a school district of 80,000 this would result in losing approximately 640 students--not a trivial number.

Plan Feature Variables

Five plan feature variables are examined: the previous racial status of the school; the onset of busing; distance increase; percent black in the assigned school; and percent black in the neighborhood. The analysis for the plan feature variables is somewhat more complex than for the socio-demographic variables. Three plan variables--the schools' previous status, busing and distance--are treated similarly for protest and for rejection. In the bivariate analysis we found that percent black in the neighborhood was related to protest; but only change in the neighborhood black ratio was related to rejection. Percent black in the neighborhood, therefore, is treated differently in the analysis of protest than in the analysis of rejection. Similarly, the results of the bivariate analysis suggest that change in percent black in the schools may be treated as a dichotomy for protest but should be treated as a trichotomy for rejection.

In the ensuing analysis the following breakdowns of the independent variables are employed.

Protest

Distance	No increase/decline	Increase
	81%	19%
Busing	Bused in 71-72 & 72-73 Not bused in 71-72 or in 72-73 Bused in 71-72 but not in 72-73	Not bused in 71-72 but bused in 72-73
	85%	15%

School Status	All-white or Integrated	All black
	82%	18%
% Black in Neighborhood	29% or less	30% or more
	75%	25%
% Black change in School	29% or less in 71-72 and 72-73 30% or more in 71-72 and 72-73	29% or less black in 71-72 but 30% or more black in 72-73
	87%	13%

Rejection

Distance	No increase/decline	Increase
	83%	17%
Busing	Bused in 71-72 & 72-73 Not bused in 71-72 or 72-73 Bused in 71-72 but not in 72-73	Not bused in 71-72 but bused in 72-73
	85%	15%
School Status	All-white or Integrated	All-black
	85%	15%

% Black change in Neighborhood	29% black or less in 71-72 and 72-73 30% black or more in 71-72 and 72-73 84%	29% or less in 71-72 but 30% or more in 72-73 16%
% Black change in School	29% black or less in 71-72 and 72-73 72%	30% or more in both 71-72 and 72-73 18%
	29% black or less in 71-72 but 30% or more in 72-73 10%	

Protest

A model containing only the main effects of the five plan feature variables yields an adequate fit to the data, and the regression coefficients for this model are presented in Table 4.

TABLE 4

G.S.K. EFFECT PARAMETERS FOR THE PLAN FEATURE VARIABLES ON PROTEST

Effect	B
Mean	.336
Busing	-.019(ns)
Distance	.021 (ns)
% Black change in school	.085***
% Black change in neighborhood	.051*
Previous status	-.011(ns)

The most striking finding in Table 4 is the lack of statistical significance attributable to busing, distance travelled and previous status of the school. Considered bivariately, both the onset of busing and an increase in distance appeared to be moderately related to protest. Apparently, these relationships were an artifact of the racial characteristics of the school and neighborhood to which the child was assigned. Of the two black concentration variables, percent black change in the school seems to have the strongest effect. Respondents whose children were assigned to schools 29 percent or less black in 71-72 but to schools 30 percent black or more in 72-73 are 17 percent more likely to protest. But, even with the increase in the percent black in the school controlled, the racial composition in the neighborhood still affects protest. Respondents with children in a school located in a neighborhood 30% black or more are 10 percent more likely to protest.

Rejection

A model consisting of only main effects does not satisfactorily explain the variation in the data (Chi^2 residual = 69.08, significant at .004). Accordingly, a model including main and first-order interaction effects was fitted. This model provides a statistically satisfactory fit with three significant interactions--percent black change in the school with distance increase, percent black change in the school with the previous status of the school, and percent black change in the school with percent black change in the neighborhood. The regression coefficients for a model containing the main effects and these significant interactions are shown in Table 5. For ease of interpretation, the effects of the previous status of the school, distance increase and percent black change in the neighborhood are shown stratified by percent black change in the school.

TABLE 5

G.S.K. EFFECT PARAMETERS FOR THE PLAN FEATURE VARIABLES ON REJECTION

Effect	B
Mean	.074
Busing	.002(ns)
% Black change in school:	
29% or less in 71-72 and 72-73 vs. 30% or more in 71-72 and 72-73	.038***
29% or less in 71-72 and 30% or more in 72-73 vs. 30% or more in both 71-72 and 72-73	-.046***
29% Black or less in 71-72 and 72-73:	
Distance	.001(ns)
% Black change in neighborhood	-.012**
Previous status	.021*
29% Black or less in 71-72 but 30% or more in 72-73	
Distance	-.035***
% Black change in neighborhood	-.038(ns)
Previous status	.088(ns)
30% Black or more in both 71-72 and 72-73	
Distance	-.017(ns)
% Black change in neighborhood	.032*
Previous status	-.008(ns)

The dominant variable among the plan features appears to be the percent black change in the schools. Respondents whose children attended schools 30 percent black or more in both 1971-72 and 1972-73 are 7.6 percent more likely to reject than those attending schools 29 percent black or less in 71-72 and 72-73. Furthermore, those respondents whose children experienced an increase in the black concentration in their school from 29 percent or less in 1971-72, to 30 percent or more in 1972-73 are 9 percent more likely to reject than those whose children were in schools 30 percent black or more in both 1971-72 and 1972-73. It follows, then, that those experiencing an increase in the black concentration in their school are approximately 17 percent (7.6 + 9) more likely to reject than those who are in schools 29 percent black or less in both years.

The effects of distance increase, previous status of the school, and percent black change in the neighborhood on rejection are also conditioned by percent black in the school. Distance increase is only related to rejection when accompanied by an increase in the black concentration in the assigned school from 29 percent black or less to 30 percent black or more. Under this condition, however, the impact of an increase in distance travelled is not in the expected direction. Those experiencing an increase in distance are about 7 percent less likely to reject.

The previous racial status of the school only influences rejection when the enrollment in the assigned school for both years is 29 percent black or less. Under this condition, respondents with a child in a school which was previously all black are 4 percent more likely to reject. Apparently, a black concentration in excess of 29 percent neutralizes any influence of the previous status of the school.

The impact of percent black change in the school on the relationship between percent black change in the neighborhood and rejection is more complex. When the assigned school is 29 percent black or less in both years, those experiencing an increase in the percent black in the neighborhood are, in fact, about 2 percent less likely to reject. On the other hand, where a respondent's child has been in a school 30 percent black or more in both 1971-72 and 1972-73, the outcome is in the expected direction. Under this condition, respondents who experience an increase in the percent black in the neighborhood are approximately 6 percent more likely to reject. When the respondent's child is experiencing an upward shift in the black ratio in the school, percent black in the neighborhood is not significantly related to rejection.

As with protest, the onset of busing is not significantly related to rejection when the other independent variables are controlled.

Combined Model

In the previous sections of this chapter we have advanced beyond bivariate analysis to control for relationships among socio-demographic variables and among plan feature variables. In the present section we will take one further step and control for associations between the two groups of variables.

Protest

Seven of the independent variables examined proved to be significantly related to protest in the previous sections of this chapter. They were income, region, race prejudice, class prejudice, attitude toward school integration, percent black change in the school and percent black change in the neighborhood. Since previous analyses indicate that race and class prejudice are only related to protest among Southerners, these variables are examined only among these respondents. Thus, respondents from the South are cross-classified using seven variables while non-Southerners are cross-classified using only five.

A model containing only the main effects was fitted to the frequencies resulting from these cross-classifications but did not yield a statistically adequate fit. Examination of a more complex model containing main effects plus first order interactions indicated that one interaction was significant--region by percent black change in the school. The effect parameters for a model containing the main effects plus this interaction term are presented in Table 6.

TABLE 6

G.S.K. EFFECT PARAMETERS FOR SELECTED SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC AND PLAN FEATURE VARIABLES ON PROTEST

Effect	B
Mean	.295
Income	.050**
% Black in neighborhood	.040**
School integration	.076***
Region	.039*
South	
Race Prejudice	.058**
Class Prejudice	.014(ns)
% Black change in school	-.008(ns)
Non-South	
% Black change in school	.101**

All of the main effects are significant except class prejudice. The single most important variable appears to be attitude toward school integration. Respondents with anti-school integration attitudes are 15 percent more likely to protest than those with more favorable attitudes. Income also appears to be related to protest. Respondents earning $12,000 or more are approximately 10 percent more likely to protest than those making less than $12,000. Respondents with children assigned to schools in neighborhoods 30 percent black or more are approximately 8 percent more likely to protest than those with children assigned to schools in neighborhoods 29% black or less.

The least important main effect is region. The direction of this variable is also not in the anticipated direction. With the effects of the other variables controlled, non-Southerners are 7.8 percent more likely to protest than Southerners. Region also has indirect effects on protest. First, race prejudice among Southerners remains significant. Southern racists are approximately 12 percent more likely to protest than Southerners who are not racist. Second, the effect of percent black change in the school appears to be conditioned by region. Among Southerners percent black change appears to be unrelated to protest. By contrast, non-Southerners whose children experience a shift are 20 percent more likely to protest.

Rejection

The effects of seven independent variables proved to be significant in our previous analysis of rejection. They are income, race prejudice, class prejudice, attitude toward school integration, previous status of the school, percent black change in the neighborhood and percent black change in the schools. Since the previous status of the school was only related to rejection when the assigned school was 29 percent black or less in both years, and percent black change in the neighborhood effects rejection positively only when percent black in the school is 30 percent or more in both years, these variables will be examined only within these categories.

A main effects model was fitted to the frequencies resulting from this cross-classification and provided a statistically adequate fit. The effect parameters of this model are presented in Table 7.

TABLE 7

G.S.K. EFFECT PARAMETERS FOR SELECTED SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC AND PLAN FEATURE VARIABLES ON REJECTION

Effect	B
Mean	.068
Income	.017*
Race Prejudice	.006(ns)
Class Prejudice	-.003(ns)
School Integration	.003*
% Black change in school	
29% Black or less in 71-72 and 72-73 vs. 30% Black or more in both 71-72 and 72-73	.060**
29% or less in 71-72 but 30% or more in 72-73 vs. 30% or more in both 71-72 and 72-73	-.033*
% Black in school 29% or less in 71-72 and 72-73:	
Previous status of school	-.016*
% Black in school 30% or more in both 71-72 and 72-73:	
% Black change in neighborhood	.048**

With the effects of the plan variables controlled neither race prejudice or class prejudice is significantly related to rejection. Attitude toward school integration, however, remains significant with those having anti-school integration attitudes about 0.6 percent more likely to reject than those with more positive attitudes toward school integration. Income also continues to be related to rejection. Respondents making $12,000 or more are about 3.4 percent more likely to reject than those making less.

All of the plan variables show a statistically significant relationship to rejection. However, the relationship of the previous status of the school is inversely related to rejection. Respondents assigned to previously all-black schools are approximately 3.2 percent less likely to reject than those assigned to previously all-white or integrated schools.

Change in percent black in the schools, on the other hand, remains strongly positively related to rejection. Respondents attending schools 30% or more black in both 1971-72 and 1972-73 are 12 percent more likely to reject than those attending schools 29 percent or less black in both years. Furthermore, respondents whose children move from schools 29 percent or less black in 1971-72 to schools 30 percent black or more in 1972-73 are 6.6 percent more likely to reject than those attending schools 30 percent black or more in both years. Thus, the threshold difference between 29 percent black or less in the schools and 30 percent black or more accounts for an increase in rejection of 18.6 percent (12.0 + 6.6).

Finally, among respondents whose children attend schools 30 percent black or more in both 71-72 a[illegible]73, those who shift from a neighborhood 29 percent black or less [illegible] one [illegible] percent black or more are 9.6 percent more likely to reject.

SUMMARY

(1) OF THE ATTITUDINAL VARIABLES EXAMINED, ATTITUDE TOWARD SCHOOL INTEGRATION SHOWS THE STRONGEST RELATIONSHIP TO RESISTANCE.

  (a) This was the only attitudinal variable related both to protest and to rejection.

  (b) Class prejudice was related to neither form of resistance.

  (c) Racial prejudice was related to protest but only among Southerners.

  (d) Thus, it would seem that stereotypical thinking about blacks, as typified in the racial prejudice scale, is less related to resistance than is opposition to or disbelief in the ideals of school desegregation.

(2) INCOME IS POSITIVELY RELATED TO BOTH PROTEST AND REJECTION.

  (a) The positive relationship between income and rejection indicates the greater ability of those with money to afford this alternative.

  (b) Higher income respondents are also more willing behaviorally to express their opposition to desegregation.

(3) OF THE NUMEROUS PLAN FEATURE VARIABLES EXAMINED, ONLY TWO APPEAR TO BE RELATED TO RESISTANCE -- PERCENT BLACK IN THE SCHOOL AND PERCENT BLACK IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD.

  (a) Assignment to a school in a 30 percent black neighborhood increases protest.

  (b) A shift in the black concentration in the school from 29 percent or less to 30 percent or more provokes both protest and rejection.

  (c) Continued enrollment in a school 30 percent black or more also appears to result in greater rejection than assignment to schools 29 percent black or less.

(d) Protest, in contrast, appears to be the product of percent black change.

(e) The racial balance in the neighborhood only appears to be important for rejection where the respondent's child is in a school 30 percent black or more in both 1971-72 and 1972-73.

(4) ONCE THESE VARIABLES ARE CONTROLLED, NONE OF THE OTHER PLAN VARIABLES APPEAR TO HAVE AN IMPACT ON RESISTANCE. MOST NOTABLY, BUSING AND DISTANCE TO SCHOOL ARE NOT RELATED TO EITHER PROTEST OR TO REJECTION.

FOOTNOTES

[1] J.E. Grizzle, C.F. Starmer and G.G. Koch, "Analysis of Categorical Data by Linear Models," Biometrics, 25 (September, 1969): pp. 489-504.

Chapter VII

SATISFACTION WITH SCHOOLS AND RESISTANCE

Introduction

Resistance to desegregation stiffens with increased black enrollment in the schools; yet racial prejudice seems unrelated to rejection, and only marginally related to protest. If the threshold effect is not a direct manifestation of racial stereotypes, what other factors could account for the phenomenon? School desegregation may affect perceptions about quality and conditions in the schools. As schools experience increased black enrollments, white parents may question the ability of the schools to sustain educational quality or to maintain an orderly learning atmosphere. Whether or not these perceptions have any basis in reality, they could affect behavior and thus provide the linkage between percent black change and resistance.

School Satisfactions

Respondents were asked a series of questions about their children's public schools for 1971-72, dealing with discipline and safety in the schools, and satisfactions with the overall quality of courses and instruction.

The first question asked: "Was discipline a problem in your child's school last year?" As Table 1 shows, both protest and rejection increase as discipline is perceived to be a problem.

TABLE 1

RESISTANCE BY PERCEPTIONS OF DISCIPLINE

Was Discipline a Problem?

	YES	NO	
% Protest	32.0	19.7	X^2=32.23 p=.000
N	(193)	(236)	Gamma= -.31229
% Reject	7.8	3.7	X^2= 213.78 p=.000
N	(687)	(655)	Gamma= -.38230

Respondent's general perceptions of school safety were ascertained by the question: "Generally speaking, how safe did you feel your child was in his/her school last year?" Resistance increased with decreased perceptions of safety.

TABLE 2

RESISTANCE BY GENERAL PERCEPTIONS OF SCHOOL SAFETY

Was Your Child:

	very safe	fairly safe	fairly unsafe	very unsafe	
% Protest	21.3	21.3	32.1	52.8	X^2= 52.86 p=.000
N	(171)	(161)	(51)	(47)	Gamma= .19296
% Reject	4.5	4.7	7.4	9.8	X^2= 77.14 p=.000
N	(543)	(555)	(160)	(87)	Gamma= .12908

These two general questions were followed by a specific question eliciting reports of incidents in which respondents' children may have been involved. "Last year, was your child pushed around or hit, have anything stolen, get approached about drugs, or anything like that at school?" Resistance was related to reports of untoward incidents involving respondents' children (Table 3).

TABLE 3

RESISTANCE BY REPORTS OF INCIDENTS

Did anything happen to your child?

	YES	NO	
% Protest	31.7	20.0	X^2= 29.15 p=.000
N	(190)	(235)	Gamma= -.29963
% Reject	7.3	4.1	X^2=118.59 p=.000
N	(586)	(735)	Gamma= -.29817

Finally, respondents were asked to report their satisfaction with the quality of instruction their children received. "In general, how satisfied were you with the quality of courses and instruction your child was getting in his/her school last year?" Resistance rose sharply as satisfaction decreased.

TABLE 4

RESISTANCE BY SATISFACTION WITH QUALITY OF COURSES AND INSTRUCTION

	Very Satisfied	Fairly Satisfied	Fairly Unsatisfied	Very Unsatisfied	
% Protest	18.7	24.5	27.5	43.2	X^2=41.65 p=.000
N	(131)	(183)	(52)	(63)	Gamma=.24632
% Reject	3.1	4.0	9.3	16.6	X^2=723.99 p=.00
N	(329)	(442)	(264)	(306)	Gamma=.41686

Inasmuch as responses to each of the items were significantly related to resistance behavior, the four items were combined to form a quality, safety and discipline index. The four point response scales for the questions on safety and satisfaction were collapsed (safe-unsafe; satisfied-unsatisfied), and the "yes-no" items were reflected. Responses were then summed across items yielding an additive index. The lower the score the greater the satisfaction with quality, discipline and safety in the schools; the higher the score the greater the dissatisfaction. To facilitate analysis, the satisfaction/dissatisfaction index was split at the median. Those below the median had a scale score of "4", indicating satisfaction with quality, safety or discipline in the schools. Those above the median (5-8) ranged from respondents who were dissatisfied with at least one aspect of quality, safety or discipline to those who were dissatisfied with all aspects. The collapsed scale relates directly to both forms of resistance (Table 5).

TABLE 5

RESISTANCE BY SATISFACTION/DISSATISFACTION

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	
% Protest	19.2	29.2	X^2=23.02 p=.000
N	(166)	(257)	Gamma=.26796
% Reject	3.3	6.8	X^2=160.09 p=.000
N	(436)	(873)	Gamma=.35658

Correlates of Dissatisfaction

There is little relationship between dissatisfaction and the sociodemographic characteristics of our respondents. As Table 6 shows, there are statistically significant but substantively trivial relationships between dissatisfaction and racial prejudice, income and education; and no relationship between dissatisfaction and attitudes toward school integration or class prejudice.

By contrast, there is a strong relationship between percent black in the schools and dissatisfaction. However, the percent black threshold at which dissatisfaction increases is quite low. As Table 7 shows, at 0-9 percent black, 61 percent of the sample report satisfaction with quality, safety and discipline in the schools. At 10-19 percent black, a sharp

TABLE 6

DISSATISFACTION BY SOCIO-D

Dissatisfied	Race Prejudice		Attitudes Toward School Integration		Income	
	Low	High	Approve	Disapprove	Low	High
%	54.5	59.3	55.8	58.5	53.0	59.4
N	(786)	(1014)	(920)	(871)	(601)	(1180)
	$X^2 = 7.25$ $p = .0071$ Gamma = .0982		$X^2 = 2.28$ $p = .1307$ Gamma = -.05585		$X^2 = 11.59$ $p = .0007$ Gamma=.1283	

TABLE 6

DISSATISFACTION BY SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHICS

ttitudes Toward chool Integration		Income		Years of School			Class Prejudice		
pprove	Disapprove	Low	High	0-11	12	13+	Low	Med.	High
55.8	58.5	53.0	59.4	48.6	56.9	59.4	56.3	61.0	57.3
(920)	(871)	(601)	(1180)	(121)	(1040)	(631)	(1411)	(296)	(102)
X^2 = 2.28 p = .1307 Gamma = -.05585		X^2 = 11.59 p = .0007 Gamma=.1283		X^2 = 9.71 p = .0078 Gamma =.00829			X^2 = 3.67 p = .1594 Gamma = -.06847		

shift occurs, with 66 percent of the sample dissatisfied. Moreover, the percent dissatisfied remains relatively flat and constant at each increase of 10 percent black thereafter.

TABLE 7

SATISFACTION/DISSATISFACTION BY PERCENT BLACK IN THE SCHOOLS

	% Black					
	0-9	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50+
Percent Satisfied	60.9	33.8	33.9	27.6	32.2	27.4
Percent Dissatisfied	39.1	66.2	66.1	72.4	67.8	72.6

$X^2 = 213.29$; $p = .000$; Gamma = .34497

Since any double-digit percentage of black students in the schools triggers dissatisfaction, the strength of the relationship between percent black and satisfaction/dissatisfaction can be expressed in terms of two values of percent black: 0-9, and 10 and above (Table 8).

TABLE 8

SATISFACTION/DISSATISFACTION BY PERCENT BLACK, COLLAPSED

	% Black	
	0-9	10+
Satisfied	60.9	31.7
Dissatisfied	39.1	68.3
%	100.0	100.0
N	(824)	(1197)

$X^2 = 206.38$; $p = .0000$; Gamma = .54040

Of course, unfavorable perceptions may be based less on racial balances in the particular schools about which those perceptions are formed, and more on the fact that desegregation is occuring across the district. Parents with children in schools with few blacks know their children will eventually be assigned to schools with higher percentages of black students. Their perceptions may reflect anticipation of future conditions rather than evaluations of present conditions. If this is the case, we would expect perceptions of quality, safety and discipline for the 1971-72 school to vary with percent black in the assigned public school for 1972-73.

The data in Table 9 do not support this interpretation. Among parents with children in schools 0-9 percent black in 1971-72, those whose children were subsequently assigned to schools 10 percent black or above were no more likely to be dissatisfied than parents whose children remained in schools 0-9 percent black for 1972-73 (Table 9a).

TABLE 9

SATISFACTION/DISSATISFACTION BY PERCENT BLACK CHANGE IN SCHOOLS, 1971-72 TO 1972-73

9a: 0-9 percent black in 1971-72

% Black 1972-73	Satisfied		Dissatisfied		%	(N)
0-9	60.3	(202)	39.7	(133)	100	(335)
10 or above	59.7	(277)	40.3	(187)	100	(464)

$X^2 = .031$, n.s.

9b: 10 percent black or above in 1971-72

% Black 1972-73						
0-9	35.3	(49)	64.7	(90)	100	(139)
10 or above	36.5	(771)	63.5	(1343)	100	(2114)

$X^2 = .085$, n.s.

Moreover, among respondents with children in schools 10 percent black or above in 1971-72, parents whose children were assigned to schools nine percent black or less the next year were no less likely to be dissatisfied than parents whose children were again assigned to schools 10 percent black or above for 1972-73 (Table 9b). Satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the school attended in 1971-72,then, does not appear to be conditioned by considerations of racial balances in subsequently assigned public schools.

Dissatisfaction and Rejection

Given the strong effect of percent black in the schools on perceptions of quality, safety and discipline, we might expect the apparent relationship between dissatisfaction and rejection to be modified under a control for percent black. This does not appear to be the case, however. Dissatisfaction is significantly related to rejection at nine percent black or less in the schools (Gamma = .51806), and at 10 percent black or above (Gamma = .58746). Does this mean that dissatisfaction and not percent black is the determining factor in rejection behavior? If so, then the tendency for rejection to increase with percent black change in assigned schools from 1971-72 to 1972-73 should be eliminated once we account for perceptions of quality, safety and discipline.

This also is not the case, as Table 10 shows. Whether percent black change between years is dichotomized between nine and 10 percent, or between 29 and 30 percent, rejection increases with percent black change for both satisfied and dissatisfied respondents. The Table also shows, however, that dissatisfied respondents are more likely to reject than satisfied respondents irrespective of whether percent black change occurs.

Thus both variables appear to contribute to rejection, and when dissatisfaction and percent black change occur together, their effects on rejecting are additive. Moreover, the findings are not altered under a control for racial prejudice. The relationship between dissatisfaction and rejection (using the 30 percent black threshold) is moderately strong both for respondents who are prejudiced (Gamma = .50117) and for those who are not (Gamma = .63013), and their rejection rates are virtually identical.

TABLE 10

REJECTION BY PERCENT BLACK CHANGE AND SATISFACTION/DISSATISFACTION

10a: 10 percent threshold:

		% Black 1971-72 to 1972-73		
		0-9, 0-9	0-9, 10+	10+, 10+
Satisfied	% Reject	1.1	6.7	3.1
	N	(30)	(125)	(249)
Dissatisfied	% Reject	5.5	16.4	6.3
	N	(67)	(134)	(634)

10b: 30 percent threshold:

		% Black 1971-72 to 1972-73		
		0-29, 0-29	0-29, 30+	30+, 30+
Satisfied	% Reject	1.2	8.5	1.7
	N	(89)	(147)	(28)
Dissatisfied	% Reject	4.5	24.8	8.5
	N	(337)	(184)	(213)

Dissatisfaction and Protest

Perceptions of quality, safety and discipline appear to be less systematically related to protest. As Table 11 shows, percent black change shows greater effects on protest than dissatisfaction. When a shift occurs in assigned schools from nine percent black or less in 1971-72 to 10 percent black or above in 1972-73, the protest rates are nearly uniform for both satisfied and dissatisfied parents. A similar effect can be observed when percent black change is dichotomized between 29 and 30 percent. Thus there is little if any linkage effect for dissatisfaction. Protest increases with percent black change, quite apart from parental perceptions of quality, safety and discipline.

TABLE 11

PROTEST BY PERCENT BLACK CHANGE AND SATISFACTION/DISSATISFACTION

11a: 10 percent threshold:

		% Black 1971-72 to 1972-73		
		0-9, 0-9	0-9, 10+	10+, 10+
Satisfied	% Protest	15.7	37.5	15.7
	N	(27)	(57)	(82)
Dissatisfied	% Protest	19.7	43.4	28.9
	N	(13)	(23)	(205)

11b: 30 percent threshold:

		% Black 1971-72 to 1972-73		
		0-29, 0-29	0-29, 30+	30+, 30+
Satisfied	% Protest	14.5	37.1	14.3
	N	(68)	(54)	(17)
Dissatisfied	% Protest	24.2	49.2	29.8
	N	(115)	(29)	(59)

Percent Black Change, School Quality and Rejection

The data in Table 10 do not demonstrate that percent black change and rejection are linked through perceptions of quality, safety and discipline in the schools. They show, rather, that percent black change and dissatisfaction operate independently and additively on rejection decisions. The measure of perceptions, of course, is based on the 1971-72 school, whereas the rejection decision is made for the 1972-73 school. Perhaps concerns about the quality of education and the learning environment link percent black change to rejection, but only in terms of the assigned school for 1972-73.

An objective determination of school quality was made by coding the assigned schools for 1972-73 according to whether they were accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools. Accreditation procedures for a school focus largely on an evaluation of its curriculum, learning materials and the qualifications of its teachers.[3] Regional accreditation may not be a guarantee of a superior school. It is a reasonable assumption, however, that an unaccredited school is deficient in at least one important indicator of quality.

As Table 12 shows, under a control for school quality, the effects of percent black change on rejection are modified somewhat but not eliminated. When the assigned school is unaccredited, parents whose children move from schools 29 percent black or less in 1971-72 to schools 30 percent black or above in 1972-73 are five times more likely to reject than parents whose children remain in schools 29 percent black or less in both years. When the assigned school is accredited, those experiencing the threshold effect are about three times as likely to reject as those who do not. Thus, rejection under the threshold condition is somewhat but not entirely associated with the factor of school quality.

TABLE 12

REJECTION BY PERCENT BLACK CHANGE, CONTROLLING FOR REGIONAL ACCREDITATION

		% Black, 1971-72 to 1972-73		
		0-29, 0-29	0-29, 30+	30+, 30+
Assigned school Accredited, 1972-73	% Reject N	2.7 (227)	7.6 (53)	3.9 (79)
Assigned school Unaccredited, 72-73	% Reject N	2.9 (179)	16.0 (278)	7.6 (161)

Is this the case irrespective of satisfaction/dissatisfaction with the 1971-72 schools? Table 13 shows that for both satisfied and dissatisfied respondents, the tendency toward rejection under the threshold condition is greater when the assigned school is unaccredited than when it is accredited. However, it is clear that dissatisfaction with the previous year's school still adds to rejection. Under the twin conditions of movement across the threshold and assignment to an unaccredited school, the rejection rate for dissatisified respondents is far higher than for satisfied respondents.

While the effects of percent black change on rejection appear greatest when there is a legitimate question about school quality, it may be that the accreditation variable is a surrogate for the status of the school prior to desegregation. In the South, accreditation is associated with previously white schools. It may be, therefore, that parents are reacting not to actual school quality, but to their beliefs about quality

TABLE 13

REJECTION BY PERCENT BLACK CHANGE IN ASSIGNED SCHOOLS, 1971-72 to 1972-73, CONTROLLING FOR SATISFACTION/DISSATISFACTION AND REGIONAL ACCREDITATION

		% Black, 1971-72 to 1972-73		
		0-29, 0-29	0-29, 30+	30+, 30+
a) Dissatisfied				
Assigned school Accredited, 72-73	% Reject N	3.8 (185)	10.4 (33)	6.1 (72)
Assigned school Unaccredited, 72-73	% Reject N	5.8 (142)	36.7 (151)	10.8 (140)
b) Satisfied				
Assigned school Accredited, 72-73	% Reject N	1.1 (42)	5.2 (20)	0.8 (7)
Assigned school Unaccredited, 72-73	% Reject N	1.0 (37)	9.6 (127)	2.5 (21)

depending upon whether a school was previously white or black. If this is the case, the relationship between percent black change and rejection should be conditioned by the schools' prior status rather than regional accreditation.

As Table 14 shows, this expectation is only partially confirmed. For previously black schools, percent black change and rejection are associated irrespective of accreditation. For previously white schools, however, percent black change produces rejection only for assigned schools that are unaccredited.

TABLE 14

REJECTION BY PERCENT BLACK CHANGE, CONTROLLING FOR REGIONAL ACCREDITATION AND SCHOOL STATUS BEFORE DESEGREGATION

14a: Assigned school 1972-73, black prior to desegregation

		% Black, 1971-72 to 1972-73		
		0-29, 0-29	0-29, 30+	30+, 30+
Assigned school Accredited, 72-73	% Reject	2.0	26.2	6.7
	N	(4)	(34)	(39)
Assigned school Unaccredited, 72-73	% Reject	3.5	20.9	6.9
	N	(12)	(171)	(49)

14b: Assigned school 1972-73, white prior to desegregation

		% Black, 1971-72 to 1972-73		
		0-29, 0-29	0-29, 30+	30+, 30+
Assigned school Accredited, 72-73	% Reject	2.8	4.0	2.7
	N	(221)	(16)	(32)
Assigned school Unaccredited, 72-73	% Reject	3.0	16.6	9.3
	N	(167)	(107)	(112)

A further control for satisfaction/dissatisfaction with the previous year's school does not appreciably alter the direction of these relationships, but does affect their strength and magnitude. Table 15 (a and b) shows that for both satisfied and dissatisfied parents, rejection increases with percent black change in previously black schools irrespective of accreditation. The relationship, however, is much stronger among dissatisfied respondents. Among both groups of respondents, when the assigned school is previously white but unaccredited, those whose children experience percent black change are about six times more likely to reject than those whose children remain in schools less than 30 percent black. However, the

TABLE 15

REJECTION BY PERCENT BLACK CHANGE, CONTROLLING FOR REGIONAL ACCREDITATION, STATUS OF SCHOOL PRIOR TO DESEGREGATION AND SATISFACTION/DISSATISFACTION

a) Dissatisfied respondents, assigned school 1972-73, black prior to desegregation

		% Black, 1971-72 to 1972-73		
		0-29, 0-29	0-29, 30+	30+, 30+
Assigned school Accredited, 72-73	% Reject	2.1	100.0	10.0
	N	(3)	(20)	(36)
Assigned school Unaccredited, 72-73	% Reject	5.1	40.8	10.5
	N	(8)	(79)	(43)

b) Satisfied respondents, assigned school 1972-73, black prior to desegregation

		% Black, 1971-72 to 1972-73		
		0-29, 0-29	0-29, 30+	30+, 30+
Assigned school Accredited, 72-73	% Reject	1.7	9.7	1.2
	N	(1)	(14)	(3)
Assigned school Unaccredited, 72-73	% Reject	2.0	11.6	1.7
	N	(4)	(92)	(6)

c) Dissatisfied respondents, assigned school 1972-73, white or integrated prior to desegregation

		% Black, 1971-72 to 1972-73		
		0-29, 0-29	0-29, 30+	30+, 30+
Assigned school Accredited, 72-73	% Reject	3.9	4.1	3.9
	N	(181)	(10)	(29)
Assigned school Unaccredited, 72-73	% Reject	5.8	33.0	10.9
	N	(134)	(72)	(96)

d) Satisfied respondents, assigned school 1972-73, white or integrated prior to desegregation

		% Black, 1971-72 to 1972-73		
		0-29, 0-29	0-29, 30+	30+, 30+
Assigned school Accredited, 72-73	% Reject	1.2	3.5	0.7
	N	(40)	(6)	(3)
Assigned school Unaccredited, 72-73	% Reject	0.9	6.6	3.5
	N	(33)	(35)	(15)

additive effects of dissatisfaction with the previous year's school are reflected in the higher rejection rate for dissatisfied respondents (Table 15, c and d). When the assigned school for 1972-73 is previously white and accredited, percent black change produces no increase in rejection for dissatisfied respondents, and only a marginally small increase for satisfied respondents.

Discussion

The foregoing analysis indicates that the relationship between percent black change and rejection is affected by consideration of quality and the learning environment in assigned schools. When the assigned school was white before desegregation, percent black change is related to rejection only when there may be a legitimate reservation about the quality of the school. For previously white, accredited schools, percent black change is not an operative factor. Objectively supportable reservations about school quality, however, have no effect on rejection when the assigned school was black before desegregation. The status of the school as previously black is apparently such a powerful subjective symbol of inferiority that assignment to such a school leads to rejection under the threshold condition independent of accreditation. The objective judgments that seem to operate in the case of white schools apparently yield to subjective beliefs in the case of black schools.

In historical context, the negative reaction to black schools is, perhaps, readily understandable. Brown v. Board of Education overturned Plessy v. Ferguson specifically on the grounds that separate educational facilities for blacks were not and could not be equal to schools for whites. In the South, considerable progress has probably been made over the past several years in upgrading the quality of schools, black and white; but signs of such progress are easily overlooked in a culture that always assigned inferior status to blacks, consigned them to inadequate facilities, and steadfastly refused to recognize their claim to equal rights. Black schools were places where black children were educated by black teachers, who, themselves, were products, for the most part, of black educational systems designed by whites to enforce and maintain status inequalities between the races. When desegregation occurred, many of these black schools were, intact, as they had been for years. If an education of decent quality was offered there, it would doubtless surprise most whites, conditioned for so long to believe otherwise. Thus, black schools appear, presumptively, to wear a badge of inferiority whether it belongs or not.

The direction of the relationship between percent black change, the quality of the assigned school and rejection are not changed by perceptions of the previous year's school. The magnitude of rejection, however, is greater among respondents who have already expressed verbal dissatisfaction with their children's public schools.

Thus, the white attrition rate appears greatest when a critical threshold in the black-to-white ratio is crossed in schools that are of marginal quality, either in fact or by customary belief, particularly among parents already dissatisfied with the schools. Rejection rates are relatively low when the threshold is not crossed, even when school quality is questionable. Rejection rates are also relatively low in schools with a presumption of quality, even when the threshold is crossed. Apparently, most whites will bear the cost of shifts to higher percentages of blacks in their children's schools, or of having their children attend schools of questionable quality, but not both.

Chapter VIII

BLACK AND WHITE PARENTS' OPINIONS OF LOCAL DESEGREGATION POLICY

Our study so far has concentrated on white parents' reactions to the implementation of school desegregation in their districts. And while it is true that whites have been the major source of rejection and protest, black parents' support for desegregation in practice cannot be taken for granted. For if school desegregation heralds a new equality and expanded opportunities for black children, its implementation subjects them to the same physical dislocations that apply to white children and the same psychological stresses that may go along with institutional change.[1] A mere 48 of our total sample of 1434 private school rejecters were blacks, and only 56 of the black compliers can be classified as protesters according to our previous definition. Yet the very low rejection rate among blacks might not signify their endorsement of desegregation in practice so much as their general inability to afford the private school alternative; also, black's widespread quiescence could be at least partly a function of a lack of social skills and confidence due to a generally low level of education and second-class citizenship for many generations past.[2] Thus, blacks' reactions to school desegregation merit a closer analysis that has been done in past research. The very small N's for black rejecters and protesters obviate the analyses of behavioral factors used in the preceding pages of this report. However, our survey includes data on parents' subjective attitudes toward desegregation as they have experienced it in their school districts, and the purpose of this chapter is to explore blacks' evaluations of local desegregation in comparison to those of whites.

Since black compliers are so overwhelmingly in behavioral compliance with desegregation, and when dissatisfied so seldom act upon their feelings, need policy-makers be concerned with blacks' subjective opinions of desegregation in practice? There may indeed be cause for concern. For in so far as behavioral compliance is accompanied by subjective hostility to local procedures implementing desegregation, the broader success of bi-racial schooling as an educational and social program remains questionable. Parental hostility may be transferred to children and negatively affect their behavior in the classroom, on the playgrounds, or aboard the bus.[3] Also, parents holding unfavorable views of local desegregation policy seem less likely to engage in personal support activities in behalf of their children's schools or to vote for school funding in referenda. Grudging compliance or quiescent disaffection hardly seem firm foundations for building racial harmony in a benign educational climate--which are, after all, long-run goals of desegregation. Once school districts have carried out desegregation in the quantitative sense, the qualitative future of bi-racial education will be partly contingent upon supportive attitudes among black as well as white parents.

Respondents' summary opinions of desegregation policy in their school districts were obtained through the question, "In general, how do you feel about the way desegregation has been handled around here?" Table 1 shows that a majority (55.6%) of black parents with children enrolled in public schools responded positively; however, about one-fourth (26.4%) of the black compliers disapproved of the local handling of

TABLE 1

"IN GENERAL, HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT THE WAY DESEGREGATION HAS BEEN HANDLED AROUND HERE?"

	White Rejecters	White Compliers	Black Compliers
Approve Strongly	.9%	2.2%	9.3%
Approve	10.6	21.6	46.3
Neither Approve nor Disapprove	12.7	15.8	17.7
Disapprove	33.2	29.9	18.4
Disapprove Strongly	42.2	30.3	8.0
Don't Know; Not Sure	.4	.2	.3
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
(Number of Respondents)	(1384)	(2109)	(1049)

of desegregation while the remainder (17.7%) had ambivalent views. Negative responses were much more widespread among whites: 75.4% of the white rejecters and 60.2% of the white compliers gave clearly negative responses to the question. In sum, most whites had unfavorable or ambivalent views of desegregation policies in their districts, and a large minority of blacks shared their opinions.

We are especially concerned with the way that these opinions may be affected, first, by desegregation plan features as they apply to the respondent's child. And of all plan features, the percent black enrollment in the assigned public school is the most arresting from a policy standpoint. It has pre-eminent status among plan features because all others--the re-drawing of school attendance zones, the assignment of individual children to schools outside their own neighborhoods, busing, the distance bused--are not pursued for their own sake but are simply techniques for placing children in a bi-racial educational environment.[4] Indeed, the exposure of children to classmates of both races is the immediate goal of school desegregation as a social policy. Therefore, the question of whether or not the percent black enrollment in the child's school has important direct effects on parents' approval of local policy (controlling for other independent variables) is of special policy significance. For example, a finding that either black or white parents tended to approve of local desegregation primarily when their children attended schools with student bodies predominantly of their own race would not augur well for the future of bi-racial education.

Second, the educational and regulatory standards within the public schools also must be considered as policy outputs of local school systems. For while local policy-makers may have little or no control over some factors that affect the internal character of the schools--demographic, social, financial--they have official responsibility and managerial resources for influencing "what goes on" inside the schools of their districts. Further, there are bits and pieces of evidence from outside our study districts suggesting that confidence in the quality of education, order and safety within the schools may be an important key to the public's willingness to support racial desegregation.[5] For purposes of analysis, then, we will assume that parents' opinions of local desegregation policy may not depend solely on implementation procedures but also--perhaps more--on their belief that the everyday life of the child in school is secure and educationally rewarding.

Of course, whites' attitudes toward desegregation in practice may not be influenced as much by the specific policy outputs of local school systems as by more diffuse attitudes formed long before racial desegregation became a reality. Racial prejudice is learned early in life, and prejudiced whites seem unlikely to look favorably on measures to integrate the schools even if plan features have no direct impact on their children and the public school is highly regarded. Also, attitudes "in principle" toward school integration as a constructive social goal--perhaps not always equivalent to prejudice--may dampen or heighten parents' reactions to desegregation in fact. Nevertheless, school officials probably cannot do much in the short run to transform such deep-seated orientations. The more immediate question for policy analysis is whether or not, controlling for fundamental attitudes of this nature, parents' reception of local desegregation is influenced to any significant degree by outputs over which school officials have practical control. If specific policy outputs of local school systems can be shown to directly affect parents' views, then it may be possible for school officials to modify local procedures and standards in ways that would broaden community support for desegregation in practice.

The Impact of Plan Features on Parents' Opinions

Does the application of desegregation plan features to the children of our respondents affect the latter's subjective support for local desegregation policy? We will focus on the effects of three common plan features: (1) the percent black enrollment in the public school to which the respondent's child was assigned, as obtained from official school records in our study districts; (2) a dummy variable indicating whether or not the child was bused to school, reported by respondents; (3) the distance in miles between the child's home and school, as estimated by respondents. The initial question for analysis is whether parents' opinions of local desegregation are related more to the exposure of their children to a racial environment different from their own, or to the more mechanical means of placing them in their assigned schools.

Simple correlations between parental opinions and the three plan feature applications are reported for white rejecters, white compliers, and black compliers respectively in Tables 2-A, 2-B, and 2-C. For black compliers (2-C), note that subjective support for local policy is unrelated to the black/white ratio in their children's schools. Also, black parents' opinions seem unaffected by whether or not their children were bused to school. However, among black respondents whose children ride the school bus, an increase in the distance from home to school generates increasing disapproval of the local handling of desegregation.

For white rejecters (2-A) and white compliers (2-B), the correlations are low in magnitude but roughly the same for both groups.[6] As might have been expected, whites' support for local policy declines as the percent black enrollment in the assigned public school increases, as busing is applied, and as the distance bused lengthens.

INTER-ITEM CORRELATIONS (r)
FOR WHITE REJECTERS

TABLE 2-A

	V150	OBJBL	BUS	DIST*	NEIGH	PREDEG	Q	S
V150	--	.197	-.100	.107	.173	.149	.208	.332
OBJBL		--	-.232	.245	.551	.481	.258	.261
BUS			--	--	-.492	-.417	ns	-.239
DIST				--	.326	.150	.115	.180
NEIGH					--	.909	ns	.208
PREDEG						--	ns	.186
QUALITY							--	.437
SAFETY								--
DISCIPLINE								
SCHINT								
RACEPJ								

*Distance correlations are out for parents whose children were sched
to a public school in 1972-73.

INTER-ITEM CORRELATIONS (r)
FOR WHITE REJECTERS

TABLE 2-A

DIST*	NEIGH	PREDEG	Q	S	D	SCHINT	RACEPJ
.107	.173	.149	.208	.332	-.234	.404	.248
.245	.551	.481	.258	.261	-.183	.148	.152
--	-.492	-.417	ns	-.239	.144	ns	-.086
--	.326	.150	.115	.180	-.114	ns	ns
	--	.909	ns	.208	ns	ns	.129
		--	ns	.186	ns	ns	.137
			--	.437	-.553	ns	ns
				--	--	.256	.186
					--	-.207	-.113
						--	.525
							--

ut for parents whose children were scheduled to be bused
-73.

INTER-ITEM CORRELATIONS (r) FOR WHITE COMPLIERS

TABLE 2-B

	V150	OBJBL	BUS	DIST	NEIGH	PREDEG	Q	S
V150	--	.089	-.107	.107	.087	ns	.202	.291
OBJBL		--	-.165	.245	.486	.349	.124	.263
BUS			--	--	-.434	-.265	-.091	-.162
DIST				--	.326	.150	.115	.180
NEIGH					--	.539	.147	.238
PREDEG						--	ns	.158
QUALITY							--	.363
SAFETY								--
DISCIPLINE								
SCHINT								
RACEPJ								

INTER-ITEM CORRELATIONS (r)
FOR WHITE COMPLIERS

TABLE 2-B

	DIST	NEIGH	PREDEG	Q	S	D	SCHINT	RACEPJ
7	.107	.087	ns	.202	.291	-.198	.470	.314
5	.245	.486	.349	.124	.263	-.135	.100	.130
	--	-.434	-.265	-.091	-.162	ns	ns	-.077
	--	.326	.150	.115	.180	-.114	ns	ns
		--	.539	.147	.238	ns	ns	ns
			--	ns	.158	ns	ns	ns
				--	.363	-.360	.167	.100
					--	-.460	.297	.233
						--	-.183	-.100
							--	.560
								--

INTER-ITEM CORRELATIONS (r)
FOR BLACK COMPLIERS

TABLE 2-C

	V150	OBJBL	BUS	DIST	NEIGH	PREDEG	Q	S	D	SCHINT
V150	--	ns	ns	.210	ns	ns	.147	.190	-.102	.103
OBJBL		--	.236	ns	.358	.334	ns	-.127	ns	ns
BUS			--	--	.382	.267	ns	-.150	ns	ns
DIST				--	ns	ns	ns	.135	ns	ns
NEIGH					--	.672	ns	-.108	.130	ns
PREDEG						--	ns	-.117	ns	ns
QUALITY							--	.193	-.161	ns
SAFETY								--	-.265	ns
DISCIPLINE									--	ns
SCHINT										--

Percent black enrollment in the assigned public school.--Simple correlations are helpful in providing initial insights into gross associations between variables, but they may conceal relationships that are not linear in form. Further, the seeming impact of an independent variable can be verified further if a change in its value from one time period to the next is empirically associated with a concurrent change in the value of the dependent variable. The cross-tabulations presented below will provide these further probes into the data.[7]

Table 3 reveals that, for white rejecters, the association between the percent black enrollment and opinions of local desegregation is not simple and linear. Rejecters' approval rate falls notably and remains low particularly when the assigned school has a black enrollment of 30% or more. For white compliers, also, there is no "one to one" decrease in approval with increasing categories in the percentage black, though there is a weak over-all association in the predicted negative direction (Gamma - .108). But Table 3 again fails to reveal any discernible co-variation between the black/white ratio and black parents' subjective support for local policy.

These conclusions are validated further by data on shifts from the 1971-72 to the 1972-73 school year in the racial balance, as related to opinions of desegregation policy. Table 4 shows that black parents' rate of approval remains high regardless of whether their children experience an increase, a decrease, or no change in the black-white ratio in school attended. Therefore, none of our analyses support the argument of segregationists that blacks are more contented when their children attend "their own" schools.

APPROVAL OF LOCAL HANDLING OF DESEGREGATION BY PERCENT BLACK ENROLLMENT IN CHILD'S SCHOOL, 1972-73

	Percent Black Enrollment				
Opinions of Desegregation:	0 - 9%	10 - 19%	20 - 29%	30 - 39%	40 - 49%
White Rejecters:					
Approve	17.3%	25.8%	17.4%	8.8%	5.0%
Disapprove	82.7	74.2	82.6	91.2	95.0
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
(N)	(104)	(198)	(178)	(295)	(239)
	(Gamma = .352) (X^2 = 51.93; df = 5; $p < .001$)				
White Compliers:					
Approve	27.4%	26.2%	33.4%	25.6%	12.9%
Disapprove	72.6	73.8	66.6	74.4	87.1
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
(N)	(234)	(405)	(386)	(223)	(256)
	(Gamma = .108) (X^2 = 34.26; df = 5; $p < .001$)				
Black Compliers:					
Approve	68.2%	71.2%	71.8%	72.0%	57.3%
Disapprove	31.8	28.7	38.2	28.0	42.7
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
(N)	(22)	(80)	(170)	(132)	(227)
	(Gamma = .039) (X^2 = 16.02; df = 5; $p < .007$)				

AL OF LOCAL HANDLING OF DESEGREGATION
BLACK ENROLLMENT IN CHILD'S SCHOOL, 1972-73

Percent Black Enrollment

10 - 19%	20 - 29%	30 - 39%	40 - 49%	50% and over
25.8%	17.4%	8.8%	5.0%	9.8%
74.2	82.6	91.2	95.0	90.2
100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
(198)	(178)	(295)	(239)	(133)

.352)
.93; df = 5; p < .001)

10 - 19%	20 - 29%	30 - 39%	40 - 49%	50% and over
26.2%	33.4%	25.6%	12.9%	25.8%
73.8	66.6	74.4	87.1	74.2
100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
(405)	(386)	(223)	(256)	(89)

.108)
.26; df = 5; p < .001)

10 - 19%	20 - 29%	30 - 39%	40 - 49%	50% and over
71.2%	71.8%	72.0%	57.3%	72.0%
28.7	38.2	28.0	42.7	28.0
100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
(80)	(170)	(132)	(227)	(218)

.039)
.02; df = 5; p < .007)

TABLE 4

OPINIONS OF LOCAL HANDLING OF DESEGREGATION BY CHANGE IN PERCENT BLACK ENROLLMENT IN ASSIGNED SCHOOL, (1971-72 to 1972-73)

	Change in Percent Black Enrollmen		
	Less than 30% to Less than 30%	30% or more to Less than 30%	Less than 30% to 30% or more
Opinions of Desegregation:			
White Rejecters:			
Approve	21.6%	17.5%	6.1%
Disapprove	78.4	82.5	93.9
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
(N)	(357)	(40)	(311)
	(X^2 = 41.37; df = 3; p <.001)		
White Compliers:			
Approve	29.2%	31.0%	14.6%
Disapprove	70.8	69.0	85.4
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
(N)	(872)	(116)	(206)
	(X^2 = 19.69; df = 3; p <.001)		
Black Compliers:			
Approve	69.8%	72.7%	76.2%
Disapprove	30.2	27.3	23.8
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
(N)	(179	(88)	(42)
	(X^2 = 4.40; df = 3; p = n.s.)		

TABLE 4

ONS OF LOCAL HANDLING OF DESEGREGATION
PERCENT BLACK ENROLLMENT IN ASSIGNED SCHOOL,
(1971-72 to 1972-73)

Change in Percent Black Enrollment

30% to 30%	30% or more to Less than 30%	Less than 30% to 30% or more	30% or more to 30% or more
%	17.5%	6.1%	8.3%
	82.5	93.9	91.7
%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(40)	(311)	(239)

= 41.37; df = 3; p <.001)

2%	31.0%	14.6%	25.7%
3	69.0	85.4	74.3
0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
)	(116)	(206)	(300)

= 19.69; df = 3; p <.001)

8%	72.7%	76.2%	65.0%
2	27.3	23.8	35.0
0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(88)	(42)	(506)

= 4.40; df = 3; p = n.s.)

For both white rejecters and compliers, however, Table 4 shows that a reassignment of the child from a school with less than 30% blacks enrolled to one with a higher black enrollment depresses approval of local policy. Note further that a movement of the white child in the reverse direction -- to a school with proportionally fewer blacks -- raises whites' rate of approval to about the same level as those whose children remained in heavily white schools over both years. In sum, Tables 3 and 4 heighten our impression that white parents' subjective approval of local desegregation decreases as their children experience greater exposure to black children--although this conclusion will be qualified by data to be presented later in this chapter.

Busing.--The Tables of simple correlations implied that white parents' approval of local desegregation is more extensive when their children are not bused to school than when they are bused, but the presence or absence of busing seemed irrelevant to black parents' approval. However, these simple relationships require further analysis. Is the application of busing *per se* a source of disapproval among whites regardless of the racial composition of the assigned school, or does it generate disapproval primarily because it exposes the white child to contacts with larger proportions of black schoolmates than occurs in the absence of busing?

Table 5 tends to support the latter hypothesis. When the assigned school has less than 30% blacks in attendance, the presence or absence of busing is statistically unrelated to whites' opinions. Only when white children are assigned to a school with a higher black enrollment does a bus ride tend to reduce their parents' rate of approval significantly--and the impact of busing seems greater on white compliers than on rejecters.

TABLE 5

Opinions of Desegregation
by Busing,
Controlling for Percent Black Enrollment

	Percent Black Enrollment			
Opinions of Desegregation	Less than 30%		30% or more	
	Bused	Not Bused	Bused	Not Bused
White rejecters:				
Approve	21.7%	20.1%	5.8%	9.6%
Disapprove	78.3	79.9	94.2	90.4
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
(N)	(212)	(259)	(415)	(228)
	(Gamma = .049) (X^2 = .10, df = 1, $p <.75$)		(Gamma = .270) (X^2 = 2.75, df = 1, $p < .09$)	
White compliers:				
Approve	28.0%	30.3%	16.1%	26.7%
Disapprove	72.0	69.7	83.9	73.3
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
(N)	(489)	(534)	(366)	(202)
	(Gamma = -.056) (X^2 = .56, df = 1, $p <.45$)		(Gamma = -.310) (X^2 = 8.54, df - 1, $p < .004$)	
Black compliers:				
Approve	72.8%	68.7%	65.5%	66.8%
Disapprove	27.2	31.3	34.5	33.2
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(173)	(99)	(267)	(310)
	(Gamma = .09) (X^2 = .35, df = 1, $p < .56$)		(Gamma = -.03) (X^2 = .05, df - 1, $p < .823$)	

Apparently, then, busing is a source of white parental disapproval not so much for its own sake as because it tends to place the white child in a more heavily black school.

For black parents, Table 4 reconfirms our previous conclusions that neither busing nor the black/white ratio affect opinions of local desegregation. Blacks approve of the handling of desegregation overwhelmingly whether or not their children are bused and, if bused, whether or not they are transported to schools with the greater or lesser proportion of black students.

Pursuing these relationships one step further, we examine the impact of a change from the absence of busing in 1971-72 to its presence in 1972-73. Table 6 shows that both sets of white parents reported lower rates of approval when their children experience the onset of busing than in any other category of temporal change. Note also that when white children are relieved of busing in the second year, their parents' approval rate rises to the level of those whose children were not bused in either year. For black parents also, the first bus ride may generate a very slight decline in approval of local desegregation policy. Except for the initial bus ride, however, busing per se over a two-year period has no appreciable influence on either black or white parents' endorsement of local policy.

TABLE 6

OPINIONS OF LOCAL HANDLING OF DESEGREGATION BY CHANGES IN THE APPLICATION OF BUSING, 1971-72 to 1972-73

	Change in Busing, 1971-72 to 1972-73			
Opinions of Desegregation:	Not-bused to not-bused	Not-bused to bused	Bused to bused	Bused to not-bused
White Rejecters:				
Approve	14.8%	6.3%	15.3%	15.3%
Disapprove	85.2	93.8	84.7	84.7
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
(N)	(427)	(288)	(359)	(59)
	($X^2 = 14.89$; df = 3; $p < .002$)			
White Compliers:				
Approve	29.1%	17.9%	24.9%	29.5%
Disapprove	70.9	82.1	75.1	70.5
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
(N)	(680)	(246)	(610)	(61)
	($X^2 = 12.64$; df = 3; $p < .006$)			
Black Compliers:				
Approve	67.7%	61.9%	70.2%	65.1%
Disapprove	32.3	38.1	29.8	34.9
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
(N)	(359)	(105)	(326)	(43)
	($X^2 = 2.71$; df = 3; $p < .439$)			

Let us look more closely at the responses of parents in the "not bused to bused" category, where approval seems to decline in all three sub-samples. For white children, the onset of busing normally brings exposure to a greater number of black children than before, and Table 7 indicates that the rather high rate of disapproval among whites whose children are newly bused is largely a function of an accompanying rise in the black/white ratio in the receiving school. Rejecters with children who were scheduled for busing to public schools with the lower percent black enrollment approve by about 18%, compared to only 3% when the onset of busing coincides with an assignment to a more heavily black school. White compliers newly scheduled for busing, but assigned to predominantly white schools, approve of local desegregation by approximately 26%--near the normal rate of approval for this sub-sample. In short, the advent of busing *per se* has no substantial impact on white parents' opinions. Once again, the percent black enrollment appears to be the predominant plan feature associated with white parents' views of local desegregation.

How can the heightened dissatisfaction among black parents in the not-bused to bused category be explained? We assumed that the onset of busing for black children would be associated with an assignment to a predominantly white school, but the data revealed that this assumption was incorrect. Table 7 indicates that over two-thirds of the black children in the "not-bused to bused" category are transferred to schools of over 30% black students. Moreover, blacks whose children are newly bused to a predominantly black school have a markedly low rate of approval of desegregation (57.1%). Yet the usual high rate of approval is found among

TABLE 7

OPINIONS OF LOCAL DESEGREGATION FOR "NOT-BUSED TO BUSED" PARENTS, BY PERCENT BLACK IN THE RECEIVING SCHOOL

	Black Enrollment, Receiving School	
Opinions of Desegregation:	0-29% Black	30% or more Black
White Rejecters:		
Approve	18.2%	3.1%
Disapprove	81.8	96.9
	100.0%	100.0%
(N)	(55)	(223)
	(Gamma = .745) (X^2 = 14.87; df = 1; p < .001)	
White Compliers:		
Approve	26.0%	13.2%
Disapprove	74.0	86.8
	100.0%	100.0%
(N)	(96)	(144)
	(Gamma = .397) (X^2 = 5.52; df = 1; p < .019)	
Black Compliers:		
Approve	72.2%	57.1%
Disapprove	27.3	42.9
	100.0%	100.0%
(N)	(33)	(70)
	(Gamma = .333) (X^2 = 1.70; df = 1; p < .192)	

the 32% of the black parents whose children experience the advent of busing plus assignment to schools that are very largely white. Here we must caution the reader not to conclude that black parents would prefer to have their children go to schools with many whites rather than with many blacks. As our analysis unfolds further, it will become evident that other variables (particularly the distance bused) account for the high degree of dissatisfaction among blacks with children newly bused to schools with a high black enrollment.

Distance from home to school.--So far, our analysis has not served to dispel the impact of the percent black enrollment on white respondents' opinions of local desegregation. But there are reasons to suppose that whatever the black enrollment, dissatisfaction would increase as the distance from home to school lengthens. Parents of both races may well be apprehensive when their children are removed from the familiar neighborhood environment and sent to little-known schools in distant parts of town, whatever the school's racial composition. Also, a long bus ride may require early morning departures and disturbances of family schedules. Yet school officials may have no alternative but to impose long bus rides on many children to overcome the common pattern of residential segregation. Is distance *per se* an important source of parents' opinions of desegregation in their school districts?

Our earlier correlational analyses showed that the distance from home to school was the single plan feature associated (inversely) with both black and white parents' opinions of local desegregation policy. Table 8 reveals these relationships in greater depth. Note that for all three sub-samples, variations in distance up to 10 miles produces no appreciable change in opinions, but a greater distance drastically reduces approval (especially among black parents).

TABLE 8

OPINIONS OF LOCAL HANDLING OF DESEGREGATION BY DISTANCE FROM HOME TO PUBLIC SCHOOL (1972-73)

Opinion of Local Desegregation:		Distance to Assigned School		
		0-2 miles	3-10 miles	11+ miles
White Rejecters:				
Approve		14.5%	16.5%	4.3%
Disapprove		85.5	83.5	95.7
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(N)	(447)	(364)	(185)
		(Gamma = .193) (X^2 = 16.66; df = 2; p < .001		
White Compliers:				
Approve		29.1%	23.0%	18.9%
Disapprove		70.9	77.0	81.1
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(N)	(803)	(617)	(196)
		(Gamma = .177) (X^2 = 12.11; df = 2; p < .002)		
Black Compliers:				
Approve		69.9%	71.5%	40.8%
Disapprove		30.4	28.4	59.2
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(N)	( )	( )	( )
		(Gamma = 27.82) (X^2 = 27.82; df = 3; p < .001)		

The distance factor seems to exert an even more impressive influence on black parents' views of local desegregation. When the distance from home to school is less than 10 miles, about the same percentage of black parents approve whether the black enrollment is lower (71.8%) or higher (69.4%). At the longer distance, assignment of black children to schools with fewer blacks reduces their parents' approval to about 57%, but a long distance to a school with many blacks depresses black parents' approval even lower to approximately 35%.

These data on distance provide the clue to understanding our previous finding that black parents with children newly bused to schools with high black enrollments have an unusually high level of dissatisfaction with local desegregation policy. Blacks' dissatisfaction under these conditions is easily interpretable from an individual cost-benefit standpoint. For many of the black children in question are asked to assume the burden of a long-distance bus ride, only to disembark at schools that are very similar in racial composition to those in the neighborhoods where they boarded the bus. Such an arrangement may seem a rational strategy to policy-makers concerned with establishing system-wide racial balance, but pointless from the perspective of the individual black parent.

On the whole, black parents seem more sensitive to the earlier factor than white parents, as Table 8 indicates. More specifically, Table 9 reveals that blacks tend to react against a long bus ride whether the school has a low or a high proportion of black students. Whites, on the other hand, seem more tolerant of a long trip to school--so long as the school has relatively few black students. In all three sub-samples, however, an especially drastic decline in support for local desegregation occurs when a long journey terminates in a school with more than 30% blacks enrolled.

TABLE 9

OPINIONS OF LOCAL DESEGREGATION
DISTANCE FROM HOME TO SCHOOL AND PERCENT BLACK ENROLLMENT

Opinions of Desegregation:	Less than 30% black enrollment		30% or more black enrollment	
	Distance 10 miles or less	Distance more than 10 miles	Distance 10 miles or less	Distance more than 10 miles
White Rejecters:				
Approve	21.5%	17.1%	11.0%	1.5%
Disapprove	78.5	82.9	89.0	98.5
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
(N)	(377)	(35)	(365)	(194)
	(Gamma = .139) (X^2 = .15; df = 1; p < .700)		(Gamma = .774) (X^2 = 14.51; df = 1; p < .001)	
White Compliers:				
Approve	29.3%	28.4%	21.2%	14.6%
Disapprove	70.8	71.6	78.8	85.4
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
(N)	(955)	(67)	(443)	(123)
	(Gamma = .021) (X^2 = .01; df = 1; p < .992)		(Gamma = .222) (X^2 = 2.23; df = 1; p < .135)	
Black Compliers:				
Approve	71.8%	57.1%	69.4%	34.5%
Disapprove	28.2	42.9	30.5	65.5
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
(N)	(245)	(21)	(515)	(55)
	(Gamma = .313) (X^2 = 1.37; df = 1; p < .242)		(Gamma = .624) (X^2 = 25.60; df = 1; p < .001)	

The Impact of Parent's Perceptions of Educational Quality, Safety, and Discipline

The percent black enrollment in the child's school is a variable of central policy importance and, as we have seen, it has been a persistent predicter of white parents' opinions of desegregation policy in their communities. Even black parents' views are negatively associated with higher black enrollments when their children are bused long distances. But why is the objective data on the percent black enrollment in the child's school, obtained from official school records, associated with respondents' subjective reactions to the local handling of desegregation?

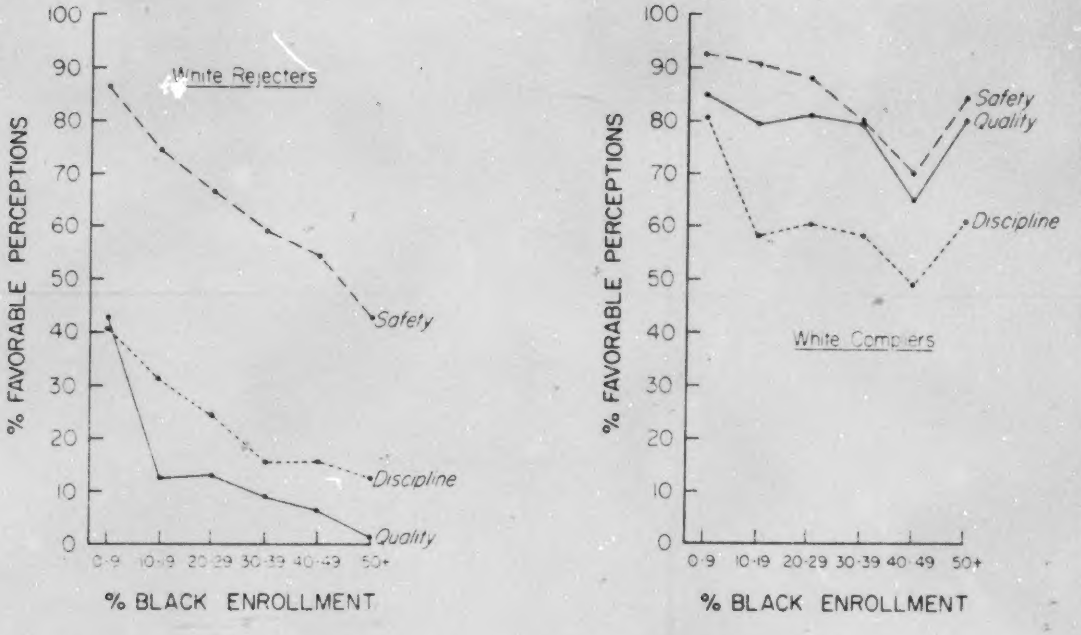
Several answers seem worth considering. Perhaps the most obvious hypothesis is that white parents object to increasing numbers of blacks in their children's schools because of their racial prejudice, which may exert a mounting impact on their opinions as their children are exposed to more and more black children. However, this argument seems very dubious as an explanation of black parents' negative views. A second possibility is that as the percent black enrollment increases, parents of both races may perceive the schools less favorably with respect to their educational quality and standards of student conduct, and that these perceptions, in turn, depress approval of the local handling of desegregation. If so, then the percent black enrollment still would have causal precedence over perceptions of qualitative factors in accounting for parents' opinions. But third, it may be that respondents' perceptions of qualitative conditions in the schools are more important as direct determinants of their support for local desegregation. A finding that both black and white parents' support for desegregation depends on their confidence in the traditional educational functions of the schools, regardless of their racial make-up, would seem to have important policy implications.

Respondents were presented three items concerning their perceptions of school conditions. First, "In general, how satisfied are you with the quality of courses and instruction that [name] is getting in his/her school?"; also, "Generally speaking, how safe do you feel [name] is in his/her school?" Both items were scored on a scale of four points ranging from a highly positive to a highly negative response, but parents' replies will be dichotomized into"satisfactory" and "unsatisfactory" for ease of presentation. Respondents were also asked, "Is discipline a problem in [cue child's] school this year?," with pre-coded responses of "yes" and "no."

Chart I indicates striking contrasts between the three sub-samples in perceptions of the educational quality, safety and discipline in the assigned public school, and it also shows how these perceptions are associated with the percent black enrollment. For white rejecters, favorable reports about all three school conditions plummit rapidly as the percent black increases. White compliers generally rate the schools more favorably than rejecters, but the same negative relationship between perceptions and the black/white ratio appears up to the 40%-49% black enrollment level; curiously, however, white compliers' perceptions of all three conditions become more benign when half or more of the student body is black.[8] And in contrast to the two white sub-samples, black parents overwhelmingly have complimentary views of their children's schools whatever the ratio of blacks to whites in attendance. In general, the percent black enrollment effects rejecters' perceptions negatively and strongly; it also influences white compliers' views negatively though less strongly, but it has no visible impact on black compliers' beliefs about the character of the schools.

CHART 1

Percent Reporting Favorable Perceptions of Assigned Public School by Percent Black Enrollment

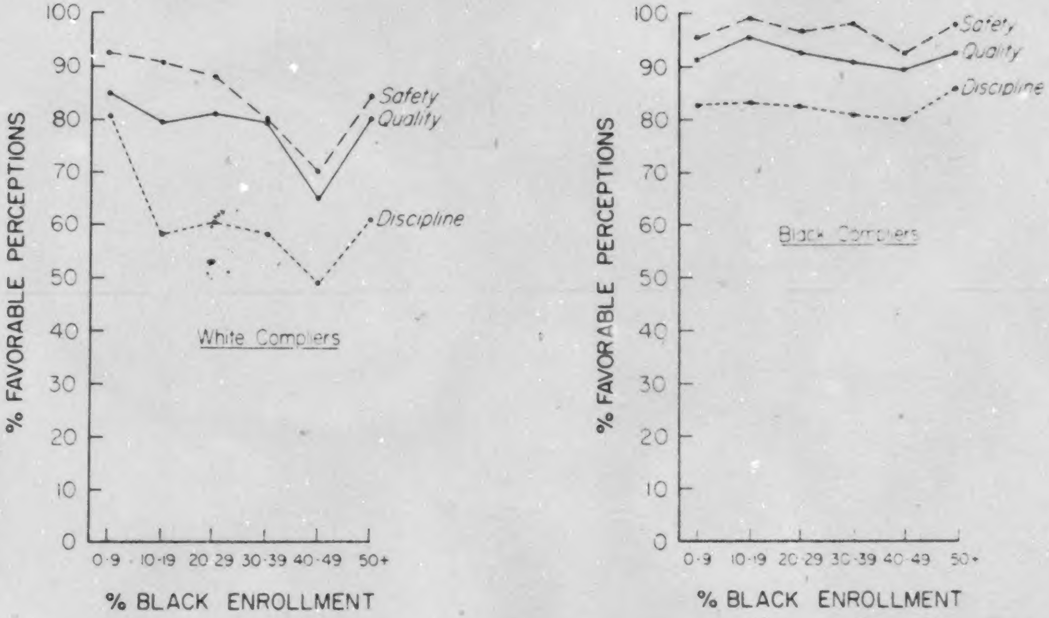


White Rejecters

White Compliers

CHART 1

Percent Reporting Favorable Perceptions of Assigned Public School by Percent Black Enrollment



Moreover, parents' perceptions of the internal character of their children's schools are good predicters of their opinions of local desegregation policy. As Table 8 shows, these two variables are especially strongly associated for white rejecters, but the association is also clear and significant for white compliers. And while black compliers view the schools favorably in overwhelming proportions, Table 10 shows that the variations in their perceptions are closely related to their opinions of desegregation policy. Blacks with favorable perceptions, particularly of the educational quality and discipline of the assigned school, are far more likely to support local implementation than blacks with unfavorable views.

Therefore, perhaps the percent black enrollment shapes parents' perceptions of school characteristics which, in turn, determine their opinions of local desegregation. If so, then the black/white ratio would seem to be the "original" cause of parents' support for desegregation policy, and the relationship between perceptions of school conditions and opinions would be spurious. We may state the causal problem in a policy context. Could improvement in parents' perceptions of the school environment--and thereby their support for local implementation--be purchased only at the cost of reducing black enrollments to perhaps unacceptable levels? Or, could parental support for desegregation be increased directly by raising the level of public confidence in the qualitative standards in the schools, without major redistributions in the percentages of black children attending them?

TABLE 10

OPINIONS OF LOCAL HANDLING OF DESEGREGATION BY PERCEPTIONS OF PUBLIC SCHOOL CONDITIONS

Opinions of local Desegregation:	Perception of quality		Perception of safety	
	Satisfactory	Unsatisfactory	Satisfactory	Unsatisfactory
White Rejecters:				
Approve	30.0%	7.8%	19.3%	4.4%
Disapprove	70.0	92.2	80.7	95.6
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
(N)	(70)	(434)	(638)	(387)
(%)	(13.9%)	(86.1%)	(62.2%)	(37.8%)
White Compliers:				
Approve	28.4%	16.3%	29.0%	8.0%
Disapprove	71.8	83.7	71.0	92.0
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
(N)	(1229)	(375)	(1354)	(264)
(%)	(76.6%)	(23.4%)	(83.7%)	(16.3%)
Black Compliers:				
Approve	70.2%	40.2%	41.5%	33.3%
Disapprove	29.9	58.0	58.5	66.7
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
(N)	(763)	(69)	(819)	(30)
(%)	(91.7%)	(8.3%)	(96.4%)	(3.6%)

TABLE 10

INIONS OF LOCAL HANDLING OF DESEGREGATION
PERCEPTIONS OF PUBLIC SCHOOL CONDITIONS

f quality	Perception of safety		Is Discipline a problem?	
Unsatis-factory	Satis-factory	Unsatis-factory	Yes	No
7.8%	19.3%	4.4%	10.4%	30.8%
92.2	80.7	95.6	89.6	69.2
100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
(434)	(638)	(387)	(529)	(159)
(86.1%)	(62.2%)	(37.8%)	(76.9%)	(23.1%)
16.3%	29.0%	8.0%	16.3%	31.9%
83.7	71.0	92.0	83.7	68.1
100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
(375)	(1354)	(264)	(650)	(958)
(23.4%)	(83.7%)	(16.3%)	(40.4%)	(59.6%)
40.2%	41.5%	33.3%	54.9%	70.3%
58.0	58.5	66.7	45.1	29.7
100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
(69)	(819)	(30)	(133)	(717)
(8.3%)	(96.4%)	(3.6%)	(15.6%)	(84.4%)

Table 11 reports simple (Pearson) correlations between all pairs of variables under consideration. Note first that for black parents, the correlation between the five-fold scale of opinions toward local desegregation and the objective percent black enrollment (0.0-100.0% black) in the child's school is not statistically significant. However, the correlations between blacks' opinions and their perceptions of educational quality, safety and discipline, while low, are significant. This analysis confirms the conclusion that black parents' support for desegregation is contingent on their beliefs about the internal environment of their childrens' schools, but not the black/white ratio.

For white parents, the correlation between opinions of local desegregation and the black/white ratio is low for rejecters (.180) and almost zero for compliers (.089). And for both white sub-samples, higher correlations occur between opinions and the three perceptions of school conditions. The simple correlations reported in Table 11 suggest, however, that the percent black enrollment influences white rejecters' and compliers' perceptions of school characteristics negatively. Therefore, in so far as the percent black shapes whites' perceptions, it may have the greater direct impact on their opinions of local desegregation policy. Do whites' views of the internal environment of the schools still have an important bearing on their acceptance of desegregation, controlling for the percent black in the assigned school?

The partial correlations in Table 12 strongly support the hypothesis that whites' opinions of local desegregation are influences far more by their perceptions of the educational quality, safety and discipline in their children's schools than by the percentage of blacks enrolled therein.

TABLE 11

SIMPLE CORRELATIONS:

OPINIONS OF LOCAL DESEGREGATION, PERCEIVED SCHOOL CHARACTERISTICS, RACE PREJUDICE AND PERCENT BLACK ENROLLMENT

	Opinions of local desegregation	Perceived quality of education	Perceived safety of child in school	Perceived discipline	Race prejudice	Percent black enrollment	Attitude toward School integration
White Rejecters:							
Opinions of local desegregation	---	.199	.316	-.221	.233	.180	.404
Perceived quality of education		---	.419	-.391	.063	.197	ns
Perceived safety of child in school			---	-.503	.244	.253	.256
Perceived discipline				---	-.133	-.184	-.207
Race Prejudice					---	.146	.525
Percent black enrollment						---	.147
White Compliers:							
Opinions of local desegregation	---	.218	.301	-.206	.314	.089	.470
Perceived quality of education		---	.396	-.377	ns	.137	.167
Perceived safety of child in school			---	-.461	.233	.264	.297
Perceived discipline				---	-.099	-.139	-.183
Race Prejudice					---	.130	.560
Percent black enrollment						---	.099

Black Compliers:	Opinions of local desegregation	Perceived quality of education	Perceived safety of child in school	Perceived discipline	Race prejudice	Percent black enrollment	Attitude toward School integration
Opinions of local desegregation	---	.189	.191	-.109	---	ns	.103
Perceived quality of education		---	.244	-.203	---	ns	ns
Perceived safety of child in school			---	-.265	---	-.129	ns
Perceived discipline				---	---	ns	ns
Percent black enrollment					---	---	ns

Controlling for the percent black enrollment in the assigned public school, for rejecters the partial correlation between opinions and perceived quality (.207) remains almost exactly the same as the simple correlations between the two variables (.199) reported in Table 11. Likewise, for rejecters the partial for safety (.337) is nearly the same as the simple bi-variate relationship (.316), and again for discipline there is virtually no difference between the partial (-.238) and simple (-.221) correlations.[9] Furthermore, a comparison of the simple and partial correlations for white compliers leads to the same conclusion--that the three perceptions remain directly related to opinions of desegregation regardless of the percent black enrollment. And as expected for black parents, the application of the black/white ratio as a control does not alter the association between the three perceptual factors and opinions of desegregation.

TABLE 12

PARTIAL CORRELATIONS, CONTROLLING FOR PERCENT BLACK ENROLLMENT AND RACE PREJUDICE

Correlations controlled for percent black enrollment:	White Rejecters	White Compliers	Black Compliers
Opinions of local desegregation with quality of education	.207	.211	.190
Opinions of local desegregation with child's safety in school	.337	.289	.194
Opinions of local desegregation with discipline in school	-.238	-.203	-.103
Correlations controlled for race prejudice:			
Opinions of local desegregation with quality of education	.212	.189	---
Opinions of local desegregation with child's safety in school	.310	.238	---
Opinions of local desegregation with discipline in school	-.220	-.176	---
Correlations controlled for attitude toward school integration:			
Opinions of local desegregation with quality of education	.194	.143	.149
Opinions of local desegregation with child's safety in school	.245	.177	.174
Opinions of local desegregation with discipline in school	-.163	-.126	ns

Let us recapitulate these findings concisely. First, by the most generous interpretation, the percent black enrollment per se has only the tiniest direct effect on white parents' opinions of local desegregation. Second, however, the black/white ratio has some indirect impact on whites' opinions of desegregation policy because it tends to influence their perceptions of the quality, safety and discipline in the schools. Therefore, reductions in the percentages of blacks in the schools (within permissable limits) would increase whites' approval--by a circuitous route. But third, whites' perceptions of the three conditions within their children's schools also have unique, direct influences on their approval of local desegregation, apart from the percentage of black children attending those schools. Therefore, even if revisions in the black/white ratio among the schools in our districts were impossible, white parents' approval of local desegregation policy could be enhanced by measures to raise their confidence in the educational and regulatory standards within the public schools.

These findings call for a re-consideration of our previous observation that increasing distances from home to school are associated with a mounting antagonism toward local desegregation policy. Perhaps parents' evaluations of conditions within the child's school are related to its distance from home--the further the school, the greater the tendency to downgrade it. Is distance still a significant influence on parents' views of desegregation, apart from their perceptions of school characteristics?

As Table 13 shows, the answer is somewhat different across the three sub-samples. For white compliers, controls for the three perceptual

TABLE 13

OPINIONS OF THE LOCAL HANDLING OF DESEGREGATION: THE IMPACT OF DISTANCE FROM HOME TO SCHOOL AND PERCEPTIONS OF SCHOOL CONDITIONS

Partial correlations between distance and opinions of desegregation, controlled for:	White Rejecters	White Compliers	Black Compliers
Perceived quality of education:	.144	ns	.137
Perceived safety in school:	ns	ns	.120
Perceived discipline in school	.134	ns	.137
Partial correlations between perceived school conditions and opinions of desegregation, controlled for distance:			
Perceived quality of education:	.190	.184	.134
Perceived safety in school	.335	.278	.168
Perceived discipline in school:	-.224	-.190	ns

factors reduce the partial correlation between distance and opinions of desegregation to (or near) statistical insignificance. Among white rejecters, however, distance remains significantly related to opinions after their views of educational quality and discipline (but not safety) are taken into account. For black compliers, the correlation between distance and opinions is robust under all three perceptual controls. Except for white compliers, then, the distance from home to school seems to have an independent influence on the acceptance of local implementation, apart from beliefs about school conditions. Distance is the only desegregation plan effect that seems to have an important direct impact on parental opinion.

The Impact of Race Prejudice and Attitudes Toward School Integration

Parents' beliefs about qualitative conditions in their children's schools are statistically related to their approval of local desegregation policy, but this association could be misleading. Race prejudice, or feelings about school integration in principle, might be more important as determinants of people's acceptance of desegregation in practice. Or, these "ideological" factors might tend to contaminate parents' perceptions of qualitative standards in their schools; i.e., the more prejudiced the parent or the more opposed to the basic idea of school desegregation, the less likely he or she may be to perceive school quality, safety and discipline favorably. In short, the root problem may lie not so much in a lack of confidence in the schools than in more deep-seated attitudes and beliefs. On the other hand, if parents' beliefs about the qualitative standards in the schools are largely independent of their prejudices or their outlook on school integration generally, then efforts to improve school standards should pay off in a broader, community-wide support for implementation policy.

Race prejudice.--We were unsuccessful in developing scale items to measure possible prejudices among blacks toward white people. For whites, however, prejudice was measured successfully by a four-item scale eliciting tendencies to stereotype black people in derogatory ways.[10] Not surprisingly, analysis shows that as prejudice among whites increases, approval of the local handling of desegregation declines. The simple correlation between the two variables is .233 for rejecters and .314 for white compliers. Also, race prejudice functions to some degree as a "perceptual screen" that influences whites' perceptions of the qualitative conditions in their children's schools. Table 11 reports simple correlations of low to moderate magnitude between prejudice and perceived safety and discipline for white compliers and rejecters, though prejudice has little or no bearing on their beliefs about the quality of education in the schools.

Nevertheless, independent of race prejudice, all three perceptions of school conditions have important, direct effects on whites' support for desegregation as carried out in their communities. As Table 12 reveals, when controlled for race prejudice, the partial correlations of the three perceptual factors with opinions of local desegregation remain significant and are only slightly lower in magnitude than the simple correlations. We must conclude that, whether prejudiced or not, whites' beliefs about the caliber of instruction and order in their children's school directly and significantly affect their support for local desegregation policy.

Attitudes toward school integration.--Black and white parents' basic attitudes toward school desegregation in principle were scaled by four items in our interviews.[11] The simple correlations between these scale scores and approval of local desegregation policy were .437 for white rejecters, .468 for white compliers, and .103 for black compliers; all of which were statistically significant at $p < .001$. Moreover, attitudes toward school integration seem to affect parents' perceptions of the three qualitative conditions in the schools, as the correlations in Table 11 suggest. Still, Table 12 shows that, controlling for attitudes toward integration, the partial correlations between the three school perceptions and subjective approval of local policy differ little from the simple correlations and remain statistically significant. Whether the respondents are pro- or anti-integration, their perceptions of school quality, safety and discipline directly influence their willingness to support local desegregation policy in all three sub-samples. Evidently, then, efforts to raise the level of public confidence in the traditional mission of the public schools would result in a more widespread public support for local desegregation policy.

Conclusions

Our analysis makes it clear that certain long-range attitudes held by some members of the community--ingrained racial prejudices or ideological opposition to school integration--will forestall the realization of a full-scale, community-wide endorsement of implementation in the near future. Yet it is equally clear that such fundamental attitudes do not fully account for parents' evaluations of desegregation as they have experienced it, and that more immediate policy outputs of local school systems have equal or even greater impacts on parents' views. In short, both black and white parents appear to judge desegregation in practice largely in the light of its costs and benefits to their children, aside from any attitudinal pre-conceptions. Two somewhat optimistic conclusions follow. First, it should be possible for officials to raise the level of community support for local desegregation by modifying local school system outputs in ways suggested by our data. Second, there is no evidence that officials would face any insoluble dilemmas in trying to simultaneously improve blacks' and whites' opinions of the handling of desegregation in their districts. For the policy factors that we have found to be associated with both black and white parents' opinions are related in the same direction, positive or negative, for both races.

Of course, there are some contrasts in the local policy sources of blacks' and whites' opinions of the handling of desegregation in their school districts. The single desegregation plan feature affecting black parents' views is the distance that their children travel from home to school: as distance increases (especially over 11 miles), approval among blacks declines. Increasing distances similarly depress white parents' approval but they, unlike blacks, are also influenced (indirectly) by the black/white ratio in their children's schools. Black parents apparently do not object to their children attending predominantly white schools (or predominantly black schools, either), but whites often feel that a school with a high black enrollment is lacking in educational quality and internal order. Yet these few generalizations exhaust the major differences that we have found in school system sources of blacks' and whites' opinions of desegregation in practice. For policy purposes, these contrasts may be less important than the common bases of white and black parents' opinions of the way desegregation has been handled.

First, considered by itself, the presence or absence of a bus ride to school is not related to parents' opinions of local desegregation, whether the parents are white or black. Busing serves to depress parents' approval only when it occurs in combination with the impact of other plan features noted below. It should be pointed out that, according to nation-wide polls, black Americans seem to oppose the idea of busing by a near majority (and by a landslide when it is across district lines), and whites' attitudes toward busing are overwhelmingly negative.[12] However, this attitudinal data may be seriously misleading to policy-makers, for our Florida data show no relationship between the means by which the child gets to school and parents' approval of desegregation in practice.

Second, the percent black enrollment in the assigned public school has no direct impact on subjective support for implementation policy. However, it has some effect on white (though not black) parents' perceptions of the quality of education and discipline in the school and the child's safety in school. Thereby, the black/white ratio has some indirect influence on whites' opinions of desegregation policy.

Third, the distance that children must travel from home to school is linked to approval of local desegregation, particularly among blacks and white rejecters. In these two sub-samples, increasing distances are associated with a decreasing support for local policy no matter what the perceived qualitative conditions in the schools. For white compliers, however, support for local policy seems more contingent on subjective perceptions of school conditions than on the distance from home to school.

Therefore, local school officials would seem to have two approaches to broadening community support for implementation in their districts. One approach is through modifying the impact of desegregation plans. Parental support could be increased if it were possible to shorten distances between the home and the assigned public school. It would also be increased if black children were assigned so as to prevent their concentration in certain schools, and in ways that would reduce the black/white ratio in any given school to the minimum consistent with the maintenance of system-wide racial balance. As our data show, white parents are more often supportive of local policy when their children attend predominantly white schools. Further, a district-wide ceiling on black enrollments in the schools seems unlikely to provoke many outcries from black parents, since their opinions of local implementation are not related to the black/white ratio in their children's schools.

But it must be stressed that changes in desegregation plan features as suggested above would increase, but would not maximize, whites' and blacks' attitudinal support for desegregation in practice. While plan features have some influence on whites' views of the educational quality, safety and discipline in the assigned public school, these perceptions uniquely and directly affect whites' opinions of local desegregation. Therefore, the more direct route to an increased support from white parents lies in measures to assure them that the traditional functions of the public schools are being adequately carried out. Among black parents, too, support for local desegregation policy appears clearly dependent on favorable views of the qualitative environment of the schools their children attend.

Undoubtedly, the most common assumption regarding whites' opposition to desegregation has been in terms of their racial prejudice. Our data show, as expected, that highly prejudiced whites tend to have unfavorable perceptions of the educational and regulatory standard in the schools. Yet many whites who score low on our measure of prejudice also have unfavorable perceptions of these standards, and therefore, unfavorable opinions of the local handling of desegregation. Similarly, among both blacks and whites, fundamental attitudes toward school integration in principle have some direct and indirect effects on approval of local policy. Again, however, parents' beliefs about the qualitative conditions of the schools remain as important influences on their acceptance of local policy, whether or not they are committed to the idea of racial integration of the schools. Therefore, significant improvements in public support for the implementation of desegregation need not await a long-run decline in prejudice or a flowering of ideological support for integrated education. Indeed, our analysis points clearly to the conclusion that a wider support for local desegregation policy among whites and blacks will be inseparably linked to a broadened confidence in the qualitative character of the public schools.

FOOTNOTES

[1] For discussions of some psychological effects of segregation and desegregation on black children, see Robert Coles, Children of Crisis (Boston: Little, Brown, 1967); also, Esther Milner, "Some Hypotheses Concerning the Influence of Segregation on Negro Personality Development, Psychiatry, Vol. 16 (August, 1953), 291-297; also, Nancy H. St.John, School Desegregation: Outcomes for Children (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1975), especially Chapters 3 and 4.

[2] Data on the social background of our interviewees indicate great disparities between blacks and whites in the kinds of personal resources that underlie rejection or protest. Among black compliers, 28.3% reported having completed no more than an eighth grade education, compared to 10.4% of the white compliers and 4.7% of the white rejecters. The percentages reporting a total annual family income of less than $12,000 were: black compliers, 89.6%; white compliers, 46.8%; and white rejecters, 22.3%. Those employed in "blue collar" occupations according to Census categories (operatives, farm and non-farm laborers, farmers and farm managers, service and domestic workers) were 73.2% for black compliers, 19.1% for white compliers, and 11.5% for white rejecters.

[3] In a review of the relevant research, St.John notes that evidence on the impact of parents' attitudes upon those of children is incomplete, but studies that have been done strongly suggest that children very often "inherit" parental prejudices and symbolic attitudes toward school desegregation. St. John, op. cit., pp. 64-65 and 89-91.

[4] The percent black enrollment in the school is also a good predicter of the percentage of the school neighborhood who are blacks (r = .486) and of the racial status of the school prior to desegregation (r = .349). Therefore, the black/white ratic in the school seems an adequate general indicator of the child's exposure to contact with a black environment. Also, partial correlations between parental opinions of local desegregation and the percent black enrollment remained significant when contolled for the percent black in the neighborhood and for the racial status of the school before implementation, and also multiplicatively for both control variables. However, partials between parents' opinions and the latter two variables (individually and multiplicatively) were reduced to statistical non-significance when controlled for the percent black enrollment in the school. For these reasons, we feel justified in dropping the neighborhood ratio and the pre-desegregation status of the school from the analysis presented in this chapter.

[5] For example, Nancy St.John cites evidence from two cities that with the advent of full-scale desegregation, "liberals fear of loss of quality is greater than their espousal of equality in schooling." St.John op. cit, p. 129. Parental concern for quality and order may also underlie the apparent appeal of "magnet schools" in Boston and other cities. Evidence of public concern over a perceived lack of discipline in the public schools is replete in Gallup polls in recent years. From 1969 to 1973, a lack of discipline was the greatest complaint against the schools cited by Gallup samples in all years but one. Interestingly, black respondents more often than whites said that discipline in the schools was "not strict enough." See Stanley Elam (ed.,) The Gallup Polls of Attitudes Toward Education, 1969-1973 (Bloomington, Indiana: Phi Delta Kappa, Inc., 1973), passim.

[6] In this and all subsequent tables in this chapter, figures for white rejecters refer to the public school to which their children were assigned (but did not attend) in 1972-73.

[7] In the cross-tabulations used in the rest of this chapter, responses of "neither approve nor disapprove" and "don't know, not sure" are excluded, resulting in the following distribution:

Opinions of Local Desegregation	White Rejecters	White Compliers	Black Compliers
Approve	13.2%	28.3%	67.8%
Disapprove	86.8	71.7	32.2
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
(N)	(1203)	(1772)	(860)

[8] This phenomenon might be attributed to psychological balance effects; whites with children in heavily black schools may find reassurance in believing in the excellence of such schools. Or perhaps only the most liberal (or poorest) whites keep their children in the public schools when the percent black enrollment is 50% or more. These alternative explanations are not mutually incompatible.

[9] The fact that the partial correlations are slightly higher than the bi-variate correlations seems due to small differences in the num[illegible] of respondents for the two statistical operations.

[10] The four items were: (1) Basically, black people and white people have a lot more in common than most people think; (2) In general, black people have less respect for law and order than white people do; (3) In general, white parents take better care of their children than black parents do; (4) Knowing that a person is black tells you a lot about what to expect from him. Each item was scored on a seven-point scale

from "agree definitely" to "disagree definitely." Responses to items (1) were reflected and scores across the four items were summed.

For all white respondents, the split-half reliability coefficient was .491. The race prejudice scale was correlated at .520 with a scale measuring whites' social distance from blacks, and .525 with a scale measuring their general approval of school desegregation in principle (see footnote 11). The race prejudice scale thus appears valid and reliable for whites.

[11] The items included in the "school integration scale" were: (1) Schools ought to be integrated to help black and white children understand each other better; (2) Different races will get along better some day if they go to school together now; (3) School integration will give black children the rights they should have had all along; (4) Once you integrate a school, it gets too dirty and run-down. Each item was scored on a seven-point scale from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree." Scores on item (4) were reflected and the items were summed. Simple correlations of scores on this scale with the race prejudice scale were, for white rejecters, .437 and, for white compliers, .468. The two attitudes closely associated with each other, therefore, but factor analysis revealed that the two sets of items lay on different factor dimensions.

[12] See St.John, op.cit., p. 130. According to recent Gallup polls, only 4% of the whites and 6% of the blacks in the U.S. favor busing children from one school district to another. Miami Herald, Thurs., October 2, 1975, p. 1-D.

Chapter IX

Avoidance One Year Later: A Postscript

In the Fall of 1973 each of the respondents from the original survey was contacted by phone and/or mail. They were asked whether the child about whom they were interviewed the previous year was enrolled in public or private school for the 1973-74 school year. Based on their answers, respondents were classified as: complier-complier (cc), in public school in 1972-73 and 73-74; complier-rejecter (cr), in public school in 72-73 but in private school in 73-74; rejecter-complier (rc), in private school in 72-73 but in public school in 73-74; rejecter-rejecter (rr), in private school in both 72-73 and 73-74. Approximately one thousand respondents were reinterviewed in the Winter of 1974. The findings of the present chapter are based on these screenings and interviews.

Aggregate Changes in Public and Private School Enrollment

The exact rate of transfers of children from public to private schools in Florida is difficult if not impossible to calculate. Official state figures on public and private school enrollments from year to year do not provide a reliable estimate of public to private school movement. Florida private schools are requested but not required to report their enrollments to state officials; also, data on the net impact of geographical movement into and out of the state upon the school-age population is not available. Therefore, an estimate of the total amount of avoidance behavior is illusive, but data on our respondents' behavior in 1972-73 and 1973-74 provide one reliable indicator of the overall rate of public to private school rejection. Since compliers in our original survey constituted a random sample of parents of children attending the public schools in our study districts in 1972-73, the percentage of compliers at that time who became rejecters in 1973-74 provides a reasonable estimate of public to private school movement during this period.

Of the 2,530 respondents with children in the public schools in 1972-73 who were screened in the Fall of 1973, 92 or 3.6 percent (cr/(cr + cc)) had transferred to private schools. The rate of rejection varied somewhat by county. Manatee experienced a rejection rate of only 1.3 percent while more than 5 percent of our Palm Beach compliers moved to rejection.

Avoidance of public school desegregation is not irreversible. Children who were in private schools may return to public schools. The overall impact of rejection, of course, will be conditioned by the magnitude of this counter-current. Of the 1,184 respondents with children in private schools in 1972-73 who were screened in the Fall of 1973, 288, more than 24 percent, had returned to public school for the 1973-74 school year. Like the rejection rate, the return rate varied considerably by county, from a low of approximately 10 percent in Lee county to a high of approximately 37 percent in Duval. Lest this return rate appear overwhelming, the difference in public and private school population sizes must be kept in mind. In a district having 88,000 white students enrolled in public school and 14,000 enrolled in private school (roughly the case for Duval) a rejection rate of 3.6 percent and a return rate of 24 percent would mean that 3,168 students shifted from public to private and 3,360 shifted from private to public schools, for a net return of only 192 students to the public schools.

The flow of students out of the public schools, therefore, appeared to be offset by the movement of students back from private school. Despite this fact, the enrollments in the private schools in our study areas increased. As indicated in Chapter II, the rate of increase for private schools in Florida was greater than that for public schools. These figures suggest the likelihood that parents are increasingly enrolling their children in private schools in the first grade, and that many of Florida's in-migrants are entering their older children in private elementary and secondary schools as well. However, since our sample was restricted to parents whose children attended Florida public schools in 1971-72, we cannot estimate the number of these "first time" avoiders.

Compliance/Rejection Reexamined

While aggregate stability in rejection behavior among respondents is important, a consideration of equal importance is the stability of the determinants of behavior. Obviously, if the prominent predictors of avoidance behavior in 1972-73 are also related to avoidance in 1973-74, then we may have more confidence in our findings. The two major determinants of rejection in 72-73 (t_1) were percent black enrollment in the assigned public school and respondents' incomes. The effects of these variables on the decision to reject in 73-74 (t_2) are shown in Tables 1 and 2.

The pattern of the relationship between the percent black enrollment in the school and rejection at t_2 is consistent with that at t_1.

Table 1

PERCENT REJECTION (CR/CR + CC) BY PERCENT BLACK ENROLLMENT

	Percent Black			
	Greater than 29% in 72-73 and 29% or less in 73-74	29% or less in both 72-73 and 73-74	Greater than 29% in both 72-73 and 73-74	29% or less in 72-73 and greater than 29% in 73-74
Percent Rejection (N)	2.2% (2)	3.1% (8)	5.3% (14)	6.4% (10)

Rejection is low among respondents whose children were in schools 29 percent or less black in both 1972-73 and 1973-74. The probability of rejection increases for respondents with children in schools more than 29 percent black in both years, and is greatest for respondents whose children move from a school 29 percent or less black to one more than 29 percent black. The differences among these percentages are not statistically significant, reflecting the small sample sizes involved. Nevertheless, the consistency of the patterns at t_1 and t_2 tends to support the continued operation of the percent black enrollment variable in the compliance/rejection decision.

Table 2

PERCENT REJECTION (CR/CR + CC) BY INCOME

	Income		
	Less than $12,000	$12,000 - $17,999	$18,000 or more
Percent Rejection (N)	2.8% (14)	1.9% (13)	6.6% (38)

Rejection at t_2 is clearly related to the income of the respondents. Respondents making between $12,000 and $18,000 are about equally or slightly less likely to reject than those making less than $12,000. Thus the $12,000 breakpoint which appeared relevant at t_1 appears inoperative at t_2. However, the small cell sizes would suggest caution in interpreting this difference. Furthermore, respondents making over $18,000 are clearly more likely to reject than respondents making less. Thus, while the pattern is somewhat altered, rejection at t_2 is conditioned by the respondents income as it was at t_1.

Rejection/Compliance: The Decision to Return to Public School

As already noted, significant numbers of respondents who placed a child in private school in 1972-73 returned the child to public school in 1973-74. What factors conditioned this decision? Did the fear of desegregation simply dissipate? Did the private school provide a less than satisfactory education? Did the conditions in the public school change?

To assess these possibilities, respondents in the "RC" group were asked "Why did you decide to take the child out of private school this year?" The largest single set of responses focused on financial reasons. Twenty-five percent of the respondents to this question indicated that they could no longer afford private school. The second most frequent response, 19 percent, indicated that the return to public school was at the child's own request. The third largest set of responses focused on distance to the public school. Twelve percent of the respondents indicated that the return of their child to public school took place because the assigned public school in 73-74 was closer to home than in 1972-73. These three responses combined to account for 56 percent of all the responses to this item. No other single reason was mentioned by more than 10 percent of the respondents. Thus, financial resources, the desires of the child, and the distance of the assigned public school are the most frequently cited justifications for the decision to return to the public school.

Prominent by its absence from these cited reasons is the racial balance in the assigned public school. Given the dominant role played by this variable in the decision to reject in 1972-73, we would have anticipated that lower racial balances in 1973-74 would lead respondents back to the public schools. An examination of Table 3 suggests that it does.

Table 3

PERCENT RETURNING TO PUBLIC SCHOOL (RC/RC + RR)
BY PERCENT BLACK ENROLLMENT

	Percent Black			
	Greater than 29% in 72-73 and 29% or less in 73-74	29% or less in both 72-73 and 73-74	Greater than 29% in both 72-73 and 73-74	29% or less in 72-73 and greater than 29% in 73-74
Percent Returning (N)	57.5% (70)	24.3% (69)	22.5% (73)	20.6% (8)

The ratio of return to continued rejection is approximately the same for respondents with children assigned to public schools with 29 percent or less black enrollments in 1972-73 and 1973-74, for respondents with children assigned to schools 29 percent black in 72-73 but more than 29 percent black in 73-74, and for respondents whose children were assigned to a public school more than 29 percent black in both 72-73 and 73-74.

However, when the assigned public school shifts from more than 29 percent black in 72-73 to 29 percent or less black in 73-74, the percentage of rejecters who return their child to the public school increases dramatically. Thus, while our respondents appear either unable or unwilling to indicate that the racial balance in the assigned public school influences their decision to return a child to public school, this is quite clearly an important predicter of their behavior.

Table 4

PERCENT RETURNING TO PUBLIC SCHOOL (RC/RC + RR)
BY INCOME

	Income		
	Less than $12,000	$12,000 - $17,999	$18,000 or more
Percent Returning (N)	35.0% (50)	30.0% (72)	20.4% (96)

Table 5

PERCENT RETURNING TO PUBLIC SCHOOL (RC/RC + RR)
BY DISTANCE

	Distance		
	Distance less in 73-74 than in 72-73	Distance equal in 73-74 and 72-73	Distance more in 73-74 than in 72-73
Percent Returning (N)	45.5% (99)	21.2% (49)	16.2% (32)

We now return to the major reasons volunteered by former rejecters for re-enrolling their children in the public schools. Consistent with their explanations, rc's are slightly less well-off financially than rr's, as Table 4 shows. Nearly 59% of those who were rejecters in both 1972-73 and 1973-74 have incomes in excess of $18,000. Only 44 percent of the rejecters in 1972-73 who returned to the public schools the following year enjoy similar incomes. Also, 22.9% of the rc's, but only 14.7 percent of the rr's, make less than $12,000 annually. As expected, the probability of returning to the public schools declines as incomes increase.

As in the original questionnaire, respondents were asked to estimate the distance in miles one-way from home to the assigned public school. As Table 5 indicates, the probability of returning to the public school is greater among respondents reporting the distance to have decreased. Lest this seem to be post hoc justification by respondents, it should be noted that Table 5 is constructed by comparing the estimated distance to the assigned school in 1972-73, as stated by respondents in the Spring of 1973, with the distance from home to school in 1973-74 as given by respondents re-interviewed in the Winter of 1974. It is doubtful that the respondent would be able to recall the distance estimated in the previous interview well enough to give a deliberately shorter distance in the second interview.

Given the small sample of parents re-interviewed in the Winter of 1973-74, it is impossible to apply controls for all of the relevant variables discovered in the original study. However, a control for the dominant variable found previously, the percent black enrollment in the assigned school, was imposed. This control did not eliminate the relationship between a decrease in the estimated distance to school and the decision to return to the public schools. Rather clearly, then, a reduction in the distance travelled is an operative factor in parents' decisions to re-comply with desegregation.

Summary

The analysis of the panel data supply additional support for the findings at t_1. Income, a dominant variable in determining the decision to reject in 1972-73, continues to operate in the decision to reject in 1973-74. Furthermore, financial ability also influences the decision to return to public school. Those returning are less financially well-off than those who do not. The percent black enrollment in the public school also continues to be an important factor conditioning rejection behavior. The decision to reject remains sensitive to higher black enrollment, and declining black enrollments appear to be a factor in inducing rejecters to return to the public schools. Declining distance to the assigned school also appears to influence the movement back to public school, as may the desires of the child as well.

Chapter X

SUMMARY AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The structure of public education has been altered profoundly since Brown v. Board of Education. Dual school systems, once the rule in the South, are now the exception. Neither are schools outside that region any longer exempt from charges of de jure segregation. School officials' acceptance of the law has grown as legal and financial sanctions have proven too costly. Resistance at the mass level, however, remains a problem.

Mass level resistance assumes several forms. For some parents, resistance occurs at the attitudinal level as disapproval of desegregation or of the manner in which it is implemented. For others, resistance is expressed behaviorally. At the extreme, parents withdraw their children from desegregating public schools and place them in all-white or virtually all-white private schools. Alternatively, some parents continue to send their children to desegregated public schools but participate in picketting, petitioning, recall movements and other forms of protest behavior.

In any form resistance is harmful to the goals of school desegregation. Parental displeasure with bi-racial education may stimulate similar attitudes among their children and negatively influence their behavior in school. Furthermore, parental resentment toward desegregation may well deepen the erosion of voter support for school financial referenda that began before the advent of desegregation. Behavioral protest, of course, makes the implementation of desegregation difficult and may encourage delay and obstruction. Rejection directly impedes the establishment of stable racial balances in the schools, and if widespread, results in serious problems of resegregation.

If policy-makers are to make meaningful attempts to minimize resistance and its damaging impacts, they must know who is engaging in resistance in either form and the factors impinging on this behavior. The purpose of the present study has been to provide some answers to these questions by systematically examining resistance to desegregation within a comprehensive framework of explanatory variables that include social and attitudinal characteristics of parents, implementation features of desegregation plans and objective characteristics of the schools their children attend.

Desegregation and Rejection

The stereotype of the rejecter as a lower class Southerner with racist views is simply inaccurate. Racial prejudice does not appear to be strongly related to the decision to flee from desegregated schools. Furthermore, rejecters were no more likely to have been born and raised in the South than outside that region. Although non-Southerners express greater attitudinal acceptance of desegregation than Southerners, they were not readier to accept it behaviorally.

The tendency to reject increases with social status. Yet this tendency does not mean that higher status parents reject because of prejudice against those of lower social position. Class prejudice does not distinguish well between rejecters and compliers. The ability to afford the private school alternative, however, does distinguish between them: upper income parents are more likely to reject than those of more modest incomes. Thus, rejection largely transcends white parents' views toward race and class and their regional upbringing, but not their personal resources.

The tendency in the media and among many politicians has been to equate the controversy over desegregation with the issue of busing. Our data do not support the contention that the root cause of resistance to desegregation is "forced" busing. To the contrary, we found no relationship between the onset of a bus ride to school and a decision to reject; nor does a continued assignment to busing from one school year to the next stimulate rejection. A companion issue to busing, the distance between home and school, also had little effect. The public furor over busing seems to mask a more fundamental basis for rejection: the racial balances in desegregated schools. While our analysis does not support the theory of a tipping point in racial balances, the data do indicate a threshold point for rejection in the vacinity of 30 percent black enrollment in the school. Movement across that threshold from a school 29 percent black or less in one year to a school 30 percent or above in the next year was particularly likely to produce rejection. Once the percent black in the schools was taken into account, the apparent effects of other desegregation plan features (such as being bused to school) were reduced nearly to the vanishing point.

Desegregation and Protest

It is little wonder if policy-makers approach the task of desegregation with trepidation. Our data suggest that parents who disapprove are far more vocal and likely to communicate with policy-makers than those who approve. Among our respondents, every reported message of support to school officials was outnumbered by nine messages of protest, not because protesters outnumbered supporters 9-to-1 but because supporters were much more likely to be quiescent.

Protest behavior appears to be more an emotional and ephemeral response to school desegregation than is rejection. Specific experiences with desegregation (e.g. high percent black school enrollment) contribute far less and attitudes about race and school integration contribute far more to protest than to rejection. Furthermore, protest is not a precursor to rejection. This year's protester is no more likely than the quiescent complier to become next year's rejecter. The two forms of behavioral resistance appear to be different kinds of responses to desegregation arising from different sources.

Given the emotional roots of protest behavior, modifications of desegregation plans are unlikely to reduce its frequency or intensity. Perhaps with the passage of time and the stabilization of desegregated education, protest behavior will abate. For the present, the policy-maker need not fear that protest is a forerunner to rejection. Also, while support for school desegregation is not widespread among whites, it is accepted substantially more often than might be inferred from the messages that the policy-maker receives from parents in the school district.

Desegregation and Disapproval

Despite popular discussions of faltering support for desegregation among blacks, a majority of our black respondents approved of desegregation both in principle and in practice. In contrast, a majority of white compliers and rejecters disapproved. Among white respondents, the percent black enrollment in their children's schools strongly influenced attitudes toward desegregation. Disapproval increased dramatically with assignment to a school of more than 30 percent black enrollment. Once this factor was taken into account, the effects of busing and distance to school were substantially reduced or eliminated. Black approval of desegregation, on the other hand, was virtually unaffected by the racial composition of the school.

Policy Implications

The feasibility of school desegregation in large urban school districts is currently a heated issue. Opponents of desegregation point to the experience of Atlanta and other large cities to argue that desegregation results in white withdrawal and eventual resegregation. Perhaps the most important lesson of the present study is that stable desegregation can be successfully achieved. Of course, shifts to private schools did occur in our study districts. This movement was largest in the metropolitan districts, with Duval losing more than 10 percent of its white enrollment during the first year of desegregation. While white withdrawal was non-trivial in magnitude, it was not of sufficient proportions to threaten the maintenance of bi-racial schooling. Furthermore, private school enrollments appear to have leveled off across the state of Florida after the initial years of desegregation. Thus, while some white flight may be inevitable with school desegregation, it need not result in complete resegregation of the schools.

Nevertheless, our data suggest that white rejection of desegregation can present a serious problem for public education. Rejecters tend to be precisely the kinds of people whose continued attachment to public education is essential for sustaining the school's external support and internal achievement: those of upper-middle to upper status, with little prejudice, aware of conditions in the schools, and committed to educational quality for their children. Resegregation along class lines could brand the public schools as inferior and jeopardize the long-run ability of public schools to compete with private schools in the educational marketplace. The goal of desegregation is to provide equal educational opportunities in the public school for all students. A failure to minimize resegregation could lead to a situation in which those educational opportunities are not equally good, but equally bad. The problem of white withdrawal cannot be ignored even if it does not threaten racial stability in the schools.

This study suggests some measures that may minimize white withdrawal and resegregation. An important factor distinguishing our districts from many others in the nation is their county-wide scope. Residential mobility from one municipality to another within the county was not a practical means of avoiding desegregation--nor was movement to a neighboring county, since all districts in the state are desegregated. The only option to a desegregated public school was a segregated private school. Where desegregation has been accompanied by massive rejection, it is often because whites move from a city school district to a nearby suburban school district. In such cases, the alternative to a desegregated public school in the city may be an all-white public school in the suburbs. To the extent that area-wide desegregation eliminates residential mobility as a force toward resegregation, this study's findings appear to support consolidated, area-wide desegregation planning. Reducing the opportunities for rejection reduces its incidence.

For school districts desegregating under conditions similar to those in our districts, maintaining racial balances in all schools at less than 30 percent black would seem to be a worthwhile policy objective from the standpoint of minimizing rejection. The districts in this study clustered between 18 and 33 percent, making it impossible to maintain black enrollments below the threshold. Where these districts are surrounded by others with fewer blacks, area-wide desegregation planning could bring the overall racial balance below the threshold. This would, of course, require cross-district busing. Our data suggest that busing may be employed without much penalty to achieve desirable racial balances.

Parents' reactions to desegregation are intertwined with their concerns about the quality of education offered in the public schools and the ability of the schools to provide a safe and orderly learning environment. Such concerns doubtless exist even when desegregation is not an issue, but they appear to be intensified by desegregation. Among white parents in our study districts, satisfaction with the quality of education, safety and discipline in the public schools declined markedly as the percent black enrollment increased. Further, parental dissatisfaction with these school characteristics provides an additional spark to rejection. Therefore, desegregation planners must be sensitive to parents' views of the standards of education and order within desegregated schools. They should make strong efforts to bring about the official accreditation of all schools in their districts and to assure that the traditional functions of the public schools are maintained as desegregation takes place. In short, the achievement of stable and successful bi-racial school systems is simultaneously a problem in the logistics of desegregation planning and in building parents' confidence in the qualitative environment within the public schools.

APPENDIX A

TABLE 1

RACIAL PREJUDICE AND RESISTANCE (COLLAPSED)

Race Prejudice

	4-7	8-10	11-12	
% Protest	17.1 (148)	26.9 (211)	40.2 (74)	$X^2 = 52.79$ $p = .0000$ Gamma = .329

	4-7	8-12	
% Rejection	4.3 (599)	5.9 (768)	$X^2 = 14.58$ $p = .0001$ Gamma = .162

TABLE 2

RACIAL PREJUDICE AND RESISTANCE BY INCOME

Income = $0 - 11,999

	Race Prejudice			
	4-7	8-10	11-12	
% Protest	12.4 (34)	21.2 (78)	32.6 (28)	X^2 = 19.84 p = .0000 Gamma = .319

	4-7	8-12	
% Rejection	2.0 (121)	2.9 (176)	X^2 = 6.91 p = .0086 Gamma = .201

Income = $12,000 - 20,999

	Race Prejudice			
	4-7	8-10	11-12	
% Protest	18.9 (66)	31.0 (96)	44.4 (36)	X^2 = 26.90 p = .0000 Gamma = .357

	4-7	8-12	
% Rejection	4.6 (262)	6.4 (338)	X^2 = 8.18 p = .0042 Gamma = .169

Income = $21,000 and greater

	Race Prejudice			
	4-7	8-10	11-12	
% Protest	25.5 (26)	35.4 (35)	60.0 (6)	X^2 = 6.12 p = .0469 Gamma = .047

	4-7	8-12	
% Rejection	10.5 (202)	14.7 (240)	X^2 = 1.91 p = .1673 Gamma = .192

TABLE 3

RACIAL PREJUDICE AND RESISTANCE BY EDUCATION

Education = 1-7

	Race Prejudice			
	4-7	8-10	11-12	
% Protest	13.3 (4)	14.3 (7)	21.1 ([illegible])	X^2 = .613 p = .7359 Gamma = .154

	4-7	8-12	
% Rejection	1.3 (6)	1.9 (18)	X^2 = .118 p = .7316 Gamma = .220

Education = 8-12

	Race Prejudice			
	4-7	8-10	11-12	
% Protest	16.9 (100)	26.5 (141)	42.6 (60)	X^2 = 44.84 p = .0000 Gamma = .351

	4-7	8-12	
% Rejection	3.2 (295)	4.8 (436)	X^2 = 18.28 p = .0000 Gamma = .209

Education = more than 12 years

	Race Prejudice			
	4-7	8-10	11-12	
% Protest	17.8 (41)	30.8 (61)	39.1 (9)	X^2 = 12.42 p = .0020 Gamma = .345

	4-7	8-12	
% Rejection	7.2 (291)	10.1 (305)	X^2 = 3.70 p = .0545 Gamma = .183

TABLE 4

RACIAL PREJUDICE AND RESISTANCE BY OCCUPATION

Occupation = Low

	Race Prejudice			
	4-7	8-10	11-12	
% Protest	13.9	22.9	28.6	X^2 = 7.83 p = .0199
	(25)	(44)	(16)	Gamma = .287

	4-7	8-12	
% Rejection	2.1	3.3	X^2 = 4.21 p = .0403
	(58)	(107)	Gamma = .227

Occupation = Middle

	Race Prejudice			
	4-7	8-10	11-12	
% Protest	19.1	28.3	48.3	X^2 = 21.01 p = .0000
	(41)	(65)	(29)	Gamma = .356

	4-7	8-12	
% Rejection	3.7	4.9	X^2 = 5.81 p = .0160
	(114)	(190)	Gamma = .154

Occupation = High

	Race Prejudice			
	4-7	8-10	11-12	
% Protest	19.3	29.5	45.8	X^2 = 23.22 p = .0000
	(75)	(96)	(27)	Gamma = .327

	4-7	8-12	
% Rejection	5.8	8.1	X^2 = 5.63 p = .0176
	(391)	(425)	Gamma = .180

TABLE 5

CLASS PREJUDICE AND RESISTANCE BY INCOME

Income = $0 - 11,999

	Class Prejudice			
	5	6-12	13-15	
% Protest	17.2 (133)	31.9 (23)	36.4 (4)	$X^2 = 11.66$ $p = .0029$ Gamma = .393
% Rejection	2.4 (260)	3.2 (29)	5.1 (9)	$X^2 = 7.66$ $p = .0217$ Gamma = .208

Income = $12.000 - 20,999

	Class Prejudice			
	5	6-12	13-15	
% Protest	25.2 (148)	30.4 (35)	38.5 (15)	$X^2 = 4.28$ $p = .1176$ Gamma = .177
% Rejection	5.2 (450)	5.9 (109)	7.7 (42)	$X^2 = 6.65$ $p = .0360$ Gamma = .106

Income = $21,000 and greater

	Class Prejudice			
	5	6-12	13-15	
% Protest	32.7 (48)	22.2 (10)	47.4 (9)	$X^2 = 4.08$ $p = .1301$ Gamma = -.014
% Rejection	12.0 (285)	11.1 (105)	23.5 (56)	$X^2 = 3.48$ $p = .1752$ Gamma = .106

TABLE 6

CLASS PREJUDICE AND RESISTANCE BY EDUCATION

Education = 1-7

	Class Prejudice			
	5	6-12	13-15	
% Protest	13.5	42.9	.0	$X^2 = 4.69$ p = .0959
	(12)	(3)	(0)	Gamma = .495
% Rejection	1.7	.9	4.1	$X^2 = .224$ p = .8939
	(22)	(1)	(1)	Gamma = -.046

Education = 8-12

	Class Prejudice			
	5	6-12	13-15	
% Protest	22.1	32.9	38.5	$X^2 = 12.95$ p = .0015
	(238)	(48)	(15)	Gamma = .286
% Rejection	3.9	4.5	7.5	$X^2 = 14.57$ p = .0007
	(598)	(97)	(40)	Gamma = .144

Education = more than 12 years

	Class Prejudice			
	5	6-12	13-15	
% Protest	23.7	21.7	44.4	$X^2 = 6.27$ p = .0434
	(81)	(18)	(12)	Gamma = .121
% Rejection	7.3	10.2	16.2	$X^2 = 18.39$ p = .0001
	(386)	(146)	(66)	Gamma = .248

TABLE 7

CLASS PREJUDICE AND RESISTANCE BY OCCUPATION

Occupation = Low

	Class Prejudice			
	5	6-12	13-15	
% Protest	18.1 (69)	27.8 (10)	50.0 (5)	X^2 = 7.91 p = .0192 Gamma = .375
% Rejection	2.6 (139)	3.1 (16)	9.0 (9)	X^2 = 7.64 p = .0219 Gamma = .247

Occupation = Middle

	Class Prejudice			
	5	6-12	13-15	
% Protest	25.8 (109)	29.4 (20)	50.0 (6)	X^2 = 3.76 p = .1530 Gamma = .169
% Rejection	4.4 (250)	3.5 (39)	16.5 (19)	X^2 = 9.71 p = .0078 Gamma = .058

Occupation = High

	Class Prejudice			
	5	6-12	13-15	
% Protest	23.5 (142)	32.0 (39)	38.6 (17)	X^2 = 7.94 p = .0188 Gamma = .242
% Rejection	6.0 (564)	9.1 (178)	10.9 (77)	X^2 = 25.88 p = .0000 Gamma = .236

TABLE 8

ATTITUDE TOWARD SCHOOL INTEGRATION GENERALLY AND RESISTANCE (COLLAPSED FOR FURTHER CONTROLS)

		Schint		
	4-7	8-10	11-12	
% Protest	15.5 (150)	29.7 (169)	37.5 (107)	X^2 = 78.20 p = .0000 Gamma = .394

	4-7	8-12	
% Rejection	4.2 (677)	6.3 (686)	X^2 = 21.78 p = .0000 Gamma = .212

TABLE 9

ATTITUDE TOWARD SCHOOL INTEGRATION GENERALLY AND RESISTANCE BY RACIAL PREJUDICE

Racial Prejudice = 4-7

	Schint			
	4-7	8-10	11-12	
% Protest	12.9	27.2	22.2	X^2 = 24.05 p = .0000
	(77)	(58)	(10)	Gamma = .380

	4-7	8-12	
% Rejection	3.8	5.7	X^2 = 10.220 p = .0014
	(386)	(208)	Gamma = .210

Racial Prejudice = 8-10

	Schint			
	4-7	8-10	11-12	
% Protest	19.8	30.6	35.3	X^2 = 15.87 p = .0004
	(69)	(89)	(49)	Gamma = .264

Racial Prejudice = 8-12

	Schint		
	4-7	8-12	
% Rejection	4.9	6.7	X^2 = 4.525 p = .0334
	(286)	(476)	Gamma = .166

Racial Prejudice = 11-12

	Schint			
	4-7	8-10	11-12	
% Protest	16.7	34.4	47.5	X^2 = 7.316 p = .0258
	(3)	(22)	(48)	Gamma = .358

TABLE 10

ATTITUDE TOWARD IMPLEMENTATION AND RESISTANCE BY RACIAL PREJUDICE

Racial Prejudice = 4-7

	Implementation				
	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Disagree Strongly	
% Protest	.0 (0)	.0 (0)	25.1 (74)	36.6 (74)	X^2 = 142.81 p = .0000 Gamma = .763
% Rejection	2.4 (97)	3.4 (88)	4.4 (198)	8.1 (213)	X^2 = 75.65 p = .0000 Gamma = .335

Racial Prejudice = 8-10

	Implementation				
	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Disagree Strongly	
% Protest	.0 (0)	.0 (0)	32.0 (78)	42.4 (133)	X^2 = 123.06 p = .0000 Gamma = .661

Racial Prejudice = 8-12

	Implementation				
	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Disagree Strongly	
% Rejection	2.9 (61)	3.7 (86)	6.2 (256)	8.1 (364)	X^2 = 57.43 P = .0000 Gamma = .284

Racial Prejudice = 11-12

	Implementation				
	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Disagree Strongly	
% Protest	.0 (0)	.0 (0)	25.5 (14)	55.0 (60)	X^2 = 28.41 p = .0000 Gamma = .703

TABLE 11

ATTITUDE TOWARD SCHOOL INTEGRATION GENERALLY AND RESISTANCE BY INCOME

Income = $0-11,999

	Schint			
	4-7	8-10	11-12	
% Protest	11.4	25.5	28.8	$X^2 = 33.17$ p = .0000
	(51)	(70)	(38)	Gamma = .399

	4-7	8-12	
% Rejection	1.8	3.4	$X^2 = 15.16$ p = .0001
	(127)	(166)	Gamma = .322

Income = $12,000-20,999

	Schint			
	4-7	8-10	11-12	
% Protest	18.6	29.5	44.3	$X^2 = 33.06$ p = .0000
	(71)	(69)	(54)	Gamma = .378

	4-7	8-12	
% Rejection	4.4	6.8	$X^2 = 12.19$ p = .0005
	(279)	(320)	Gamma = .221

Income = $21,000 and greater

	Schint			
	4-7	8-10	11-12	
% Protest	21.1	43.6	59.1	$X^2 = 18.39$ p = .0001
	(28)	(24)	(13)	Gamma = .525

	4-7	8-12	
% Rejection	10.5	16.8	$X^2 = 7.65$ p = .0057
	(262)	(181)	Gamma = .266

TABLE 12

ATTITUDE TOWARD SCHOOL INTEGRATION GENERALLY AND RESISTANCE BY EDUCATION

Education = 1-7

	Schint			
	4-7	8-10	11-12	
% Protest	4.3	14.8	36.0	X^2 = 12.53 p = .0019
	(2)	(4)	(9)	Gamma = .692

	4-7	8-12	
% Rejection	.8	2.8	X^2 = 4.80 p = .0285
	(6)	(18)	Gamma = .573

Education = 8-12

	Schint			
	4-7	8-10	11-12	
% Protest	15.2	28.2	38.5	X^2 = 56.02 p = .0000
	(94)	(119)	(84)	Gamma = .396

	4-7	8-12	
% Rejection	3.0	5.3	X^2 = 29.15 p = .0000
	(300)	(429)	Gamma = .290

Education = more than 12 years

	Schint			
	4-7	8-10	11-12	
% Protest	17.8	37.8	31.7	X^2 = 19.30 p = .0001
	(53)	(42)	(13)	Gamma = .389

	4-7	8-12	
% Rejection	7.0	11.7	X^2 = 10.43 p = .0012
	(362)	(232)	Gamma = .272

TABLE 13

ATTITUDE TOWARD SCHOOL INTEGRATION GENERALLY AND RESISTANCE BY OCCUPATION

Occupation = Low

		Schint		
	4-7	8-10	11-12	
% Protest	11.2 (22)	20.3 (27)	36.1 (35)	X^2= 25.58 p = .0000 Gamma = .461

	4-7	8-12	
% Rejection	2.3 (73)	3.1 (91)	X^2 = 1.63 p = .2018 Gamma = .151

Occupation = Middle

		Schint		
	4-7	8-10	11-12	
% Protest	17.0 (40)	32.0 (55)	40.0 (38)	X^2 = 22.38 p = .0000 Gamma = .382

	4-7	8-12	
% Rejection	2.9 (111)	6.1 (193)	X^2 = 17.28 p = .0000 Gamma = .365

Occupation = High

		Schint		
	4-7	8-10	11-12	
% Protest	17.4 (80)	36.1 (82)	39.2 (31)	X^2 = 37.52 p = .0000 Gamma = .420

	4-7	8-12	
% Rejection	5.6 (451)	9.0 (364)	X^2 = 16.43 p = .0001 Gamma = .244

TABLE 14

ATTITUDE TOWARD IMPLEMENTATION AND RESISTANCE BY INCOME

Income = $0-11,999

	Implementation				
	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Disagree Strongly	
% Protest	.0	.0	21.7	33.6	X^2 = 115.37 p = .0000
	(0)	(0)	(53)	(108)	Gamma = .714
% Rejection	1.1	1.4	3.0	3.7	X^2 = 42.57 p = .0000
	(30)	(32)	(101)	(134)	Gamma = .335

Income = $12,000-20,999

	Implementation				
	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Disagree Strongly	
% Protest	.0	.0	27.2	51.4	X^2 = 162.43 p = .0000
	(0)	(0)	(71)	(127)	Gamma = .784
% Rejection	2.9	3.3	4.9	10.1	X^2 = 85.93 p = .0000
	(68)	(62)	(203)	(270)	Gamma = .374

Income = $21,000 and greater

	Implementation				
	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Disagree Strongly	
% Protest	.0	.0	47.0	59.6	X^2 = 63.99 p = .0000
	(0)	(0)	(39)	(28)	Gamma = .802
% Rejection	5.5	10.3	13.6	24.1	X^2 = 48.67 p = .0000
	(59)	(77)	(146)	(162)	Gamma = .416

TABLE 15

ATTITUDE TOWARD IMPLEMENTATION AND RESISTANCE BY EDUCATION

Education = 1-7

Implementation

	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Disagree Strongly	
% Protest	.0	.0	3.0	51.9	X^2 = 38.52 p = .0000
	(0)	(0)	(1)	(14)	Gamma = .975
% Rejection	.3	.3	.8	7.8	X^2 = 32.26 p = .0000
	(1)	(1)	(4)	(18)	Gamma = .800

Education = 8-12

Implementation

	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Disagree Strongly	
% Protest	.0	.0	26.3	41.1	X^2 = 201.08 p = .0000
	(0)	(0)	(104)	(198)	Gamma = .711
% Rejection	1.6	2.6	4.1	6.5	X^2 = 104.50 p = .0000
	(57)	(87)	(231)	(359)	Gamma = .371

Education = more than 12 years

Implementation

	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Disagree Strongly	
% Protest	.0	.0	37.2	46.3	X^2 = 101.23 p = .0000
	(0)	(0)	(61)	(50)	Gamma = .755
% Rejection	4.5	6.9	8.7	15.7	X^2 = 61.37 p = .0000
	(98)	(85)	(214)	(201)	Gamma = .349

TABLE 16

ATTITUDE TOWARD IMPLEMENTATION AND RESISTANCE BY OCCUPATION

Occupation = Low

	Implementation				
	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Disagree Strongly	
% Protest	.0 (0)	.0 (0)	17.1 (24)	35.1 (61)	X^2 = 53.47 p = .0000 Gamma = .719
% Rejection	1.2 (14)	3.3 (26)	2.8 (59)	3.3 (67)	X^2 = 11.98 p = .0075 Gamma = .168

Occupation = Middle

	Implementation				
	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Disagree Strongly	
% Protest	.0 (0)	.0 (0)	26.4 (42)	45.1 (93)	X^2 = 87.22 p = .0000 Gamma = .726
% Rejection	1.8 (22)	2.6 (36)	3.4 (78)	8.1 (172)	X^2 = 50.68 p = .0000 Gamma = .427

Occupation = High

	Implementation				
	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Disagree Strongly	
% Protest	.0 (0)	.0 (0)	35.6 (95)	50.2 (103)	X^2 = 182.83 p = .0000 Gamma = .777
% Rejection	3.4 (115)	4.4 (100)	7.4 (292)	12.8 (310)	X^2 = 115.55 p = .0000 Gamma = .388

TABLE 17

REGIONAL UPBRINGING AND RESISTANCE BY LENGTH OF RESIDENCY

Length of Residency = 2 years or less

	Region		
	South	Non-south	
% Protest	4.8 (2)	11.9 (16)	$X^2 = 1.07$ $p = .3005$ Gamma = .458
% Rejection	3.1 (21)	6.2 (128)	$X^2 = 5.25$ $p = .0219$ Gamma = .348

Length of Residency = more than 2 years

	Region		
	South	Non-south	
% Protest	26.5 (276)	22.6 (138)	$X^2 = 2.919$ $p = .0876$ Gamma = -.105
% Rejection	5.1 (737)	4.9 (476)	$X^2 = .250$ $p = .6170$ Gamma = -.016

TABLE 18

REGIONAL UPBRINGING BY RACIAL PREJUDICE

	Race Prejudice		
	4-7	8-10	11-12
% South	51.3 (781)	61.3 (909)	73.3 (214)
% Non-South	48.7 (741)	38.7 (573)	26.7 (78)

$X^2 = 62.55$ $p = .0000$
Gamma = -.245

TABLE 19

ATTITUDE TOWARDS SCHOOL INTEGRATION GENERALLY BY REGIONAL UPBRINGING

	Schint		
	4-7	8-10	11-12
% South	51.0	62.4	71.8
	(880)	(671)	(346)
% Non-south	49.0	37.6	28.2
	(885)	(405)	(136)

$X^2 = 80.37$ $p = .0000$
Gamma = -.276

TABLE 20

DISTANCE BY RESISTANCE (5-VALUE RECODE)

	Distance in 72-73					
	0-3	4-6	7-9	10-12	over 12	
% Protest	21.0 (229)	24.7 (74)	26.7 (32)	28.1 (43)	34.3 (49)	$X^2 = 15.475$ $p = .004$ Gamma = .168
% Rejection	3.6 (618)	4.6 (192)	4.2 (71)	5.0 (98)	8.6 (150)	$X^2 = 33.266$ $p = .000$ Gamma = .190

TABLE 21

RESISTANCE AND DISTANCE INCREASE BY BUSCHANGE

BUSCHANGE = No change in busing from 1971-72 to 72-73

	Distance in 72-73 less than in 71-72	Distance 72-73 same as in 71-72	Distance in 72-73 greater than in 71-72 and: Distance in 72-73 = 4-12	Distance in 72-73 greater than in 71-72 and: Distance in 72-73 = over 12	
% Protest	25.5 (13)	20.6 (271)	30.4 (28)	39.2 (20)	X^2=14.551 p = .002 Gamma = .211
% Rejection	9.0 (75)	3.4 (662)	5.4 (62)	6.8 (38)	X^2=42.392 p = .000 Gamma = -.027

BUSCHANGE = Change from no busing in 1971-72 to busing in 1972-73.

	Distance in 72-73 less than in 71-72	Distance in 72-73 same as in 71 - 72	Distance in 72-73 greater than in 71-72 and: Distance in 72-73 = 4-12	Distance in 72-73 greater than in 71-72 and: Distance in 72-73 = over 12	
% Protest	.0 (0)	18.8 (13)	35.8 (49)	45.3 (24)	X^2=10.827 p = .013 Gamma = .362
% Rejection	18.6 (3)	4.3 (50)	6.0 (121)	15.1 (94)	X^2=21.900 p = .000 Gamma = .364

TABLE 22

RESISTANCE BY PERCENT BLACK IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD

% Black in 1972-73

	0-9	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	7
% Protest	24.4 (222)	22.0 (13)	4.0 (2)	30.0 (3)	57.1 (16)	21.4 (3)	50.0 (1)	4 (
% Rejection	4.7 (701)	3.8 (29)	2.0 (15)	6.6 (14)	26.5 (62)	6.9 (11)	.0 (0)	

TABLE 22

ANCE BY PERCENT BLACK IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD

0-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79	80-89	90-100	
4.0 (2)	30.0 (3)	57.1 (16)	21.4 (3)	50.0 (1)	40.0 (4)	30.8 (4)	35.7 (97)	X^2=42.553 p = .000 Gamma = .182
2.0 (15)	6.6 (14)	26.5 (62)	6.9 (11)	.0 (0)	33.0 (47)	10.3 (14)	6.5 (285)	X^2=104.115 p = .000 Gamma = .182

TABLE 23

RESISTANCE BY CONDITION OF SCHOOL

	Condition of School			
	Good	Bad	Neither	
% Protest	24.6 (377)	3.8 (1)	19.0 (37)	$X^2 = 8.802$ p = .012 Gamma = -.214
% Rejection	5.1 (1187)	3.2 (12)	4.2 (109)	$X^2 = 13.709$ p = .001 Gamma = -.116